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Curricular translations of citizen participation within a Massachusetts newcomer citizenship education program.

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CURRICULAR TRANSLATIONS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION WITHIN A MASSACHUSETTS NEWCOMER CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROGRAM

A Dissertation Presented

by

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Noranne Marie and Gustave Joseph Comeau

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ABSTRACT

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Citizenship education is a traditional tool for establishing the roles that newcomers are expected to take on as citizens. As such it is shaped by assumptions of what defines "good citizenry." Although it is commonly assumed that a good citizen participates in the political and social life of the community, notions of narrowly defined citizen participation such as voting have frequently prevailed in citizenship education programs. Opposing this restrictive tradition are empowerment-oriented citizenship education programs emphasizing a citizen participation that encompasses a view of citizenship as personal and community empowerment.

This study examined the definitions, skills, and contexts of citizen participation in the words of the directors, facilitators, and participants of a Massachusetts community-based citizenship education program. Examples of how citizen participation was promoted through the curricula are offered. Internal and external challenges to the full participation of newcomers in their new society are also identified. Research strategies included multi-site case studies and historical and theoretical literature review. Data collection techniques included participant observation, interviewing, and document analysis.

Research participants were found to be collectively creating varied and meaningful definitions of citizen participation. The citizenship education program examined was found to be contributing to the development of rationale, motivation, and

skills for citizen participation by (a) providing opportunity for newcomers to investigate and connect historical and contemporary events; (b) facilitating the acquisition of critical tools including literacy, English, and information collecting and sharing skills; (c) providing support for the development of greater self esteem; and (d) offering opportunities to interact and act collectively within their local and greater communities.

In the final chapter, the concept of critical civic literacy is discussed in the context of the research findings. Suggestions for empowerment-based citizenship education program development are offered. Citizenship education programs can make constructive use of participants' backgrounds as they begin the process of social, collective construction of the meaning of participatory citizenship.

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INTRODUCTION

Effective dictatorships require great leaders.
Effective democracies need great citizens.
(Barber, 1984, p. xvii)

Problem Statement

According to Urban Institute researchers Fix and Passel (1994) and Edmonston and Passel (1994), the United States is currently receiving the largest wave of immigrants in the history of the country. However, percentage-wise, the foreign-born population is lower now than during the last great wave of immigration at the turn of the century. According to Feagin (1997), in 1910 the foreign-born population was 15%. In the mid-1990s, the figure was 8%. Until the 1960s, the majority of immigrants to the U.S. came from Europe. In 1965, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965[1] changed the composition of newcomer populations.[2] The majority of today's immigrants come from Latin America and Asia.

The fact that these new immigrants differed in phenotype from earlier arrivals was not lost on white citizens in the U.S. Fundamental to the reception of these non-white newcomers was the white populations' perceptions of whether the newcomers could be assimilated to become full citizens or would they resemble the seemingly unassimilable groups of "second-class" citizens such as African American, Native American, and Mexican American. A resurgent nativism has arisen to meet this wave of immigration. This nativism has been legislatively articulated in laws denying social service benefits to legal immigrants and reducing levels of legal immigration. Congressional bills have proposed the establishment of English as the official language of the nation and limits on entitlements of birthright citizenship. Immigrants who enroll

in citizenship education programs today are directly or indirectly affected by a redefining of who should be citizens and what comprises citizenship.

Citizenship education is one traditional tool for establishing the roles that newcomers are expected to take on as citizens. As such, it is shaped by assumptions of what defines "good citizenry." Although it is commonly assumed that a good citizen participates in the political and social life of the community, notions of narrowly defined citizen participation, such as voting,[3] have frequently prevailed in citizenship education programs. Opposing this restrictive tradition are empowerment-oriented citizenship education programs emphasizing a citizen participation that encompasses a view of citizenship as personal and community empowerment.

Citizenship education programs are customarily offered by private voluntary or ethnic organizations or groups, employers, and religious organizations. Classes range in focus from standardized citizenship exam preparation to empowerment-based citizenship preparation. Many classes combine English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) with citizenship instruction. Providers of empowerment-oriented citizenship education need to consider the heterogeneous backgrounds, needs, and motivations of newcomers; variations in definitions and skills of citizen participation in the communities; and internal and external challenges to citizen participation as they design and administer citizenship education programs.

Significance of the Study

The increasing volume and diversity of contemporary immigration to the U.S. and other western democracies has made citizenship increasingly subject to controversy. Immigration and citizenship policies and practices reflect historical experiences and ideologies. Citizenship and naturalization law differs widely even between western democracies. Democracies such as Britain and France base their immigration and citizenship policy on their colonial history. Sweden and Germany today are confronting

the question of naturalization of post-World War II-recruited migrant workers. The early development of the United States depended on migrants to populate the country.

Citizenship involves the developing of a relationship between the individual and society. The starting point for constructing one's identity and role as an active, participating citizen is an understanding of the ideological medium in which this growth takes place. Giroux (1987) counseled:

> Citizenship, like democracy itself, is part of a historical tradition that represents a terrain of struggle over the forms of knowledge, social practices and values that constitute the critical elements of that tradition. However, it is not a term that has any transcendental significance outside the lived experiences and social practices of individuals who make up diverse forms of public life. Once we acknowledge the concept of citizenship as a socially constructed historical practice, it becomes all the more imperative to recognize that categories like citizenship and democracy need to be problematized and reconstructed for each generation. (pp. 104-105)

Discourses on the nature of democratic citizenship and citizen participation are the "social grammar" (Giroux, 1988) upon which different types of citizenship education for newcomers are based.

Citizenship in a Changing World

The end of the 20th century has seen political upheavals the world over. Immigrant and refugee flows - permanent, temporary, legal, illegal - are changing the face of every nation. Former dictatorial regimes are now titled "democratic." Existing democracies are struggling to redefine definitions of democracy and citizenship and strike a balance between pluralism and political unity. Weisburd (1994) reflected:

> As heterogeneous democratic nations attempt to define political unity in concert with pluralism, and as new democracies grope for identity and form, we confront the very meanings of 'citizenship' and 'democracy,' and of how those meanings are constructed, interpreted, sustained, and renewed. Interpretations of 'democracy' and of membership in a political community have no predetermined, fixed, a-historical form, but are continually re-shaped from traditions of understanding the political world and of one's self in it. (p. 2)

McGinn (1996) noted that although political participation in the United States is declining and the gap between haves and have-nots is increasing, "civic education" has

become another U.S. export. The lessons being offered are that democracy is composed of a free market plus capitalism. In this paradigm, the growth of democracy is measured by increases in private wealth rather than the increase of participatory governance.

Social problems and questions are increasingly being analyzed from the perspective of citizenship and civil society. "Democratic education" - democracy in education and education for democracy - is a reoccurring theme of conferences, publications, and research projects. Some societal issues that have been suggested as stimuli in reexamining the concept of citizenship in the U.S. include (a) the end of the cold war; (b) the growth of multinational corporations and economic globalization; (c) decline in political and nonpolitical participation in the U.S.; (d) loss of a sense of community with corresponding rise in the cult of the individual; (e) increasing awareness of racial, gender, class and sexual orientation oppressions; (f) increasing multiculturalism of the society; and (g) the development of post-modern and post-structuralism thought. Unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of this research to expand beyond naming to examining these causal relationships.

Most discussions of citizenship begin with English sociologist T. H. Marshall's (1950) definition of citizenship as the totality of rights and duties which accompany full membership in a society. Marshall identified three stages of western citizenship which have evolved over the last three centuries. In the 18th century, civil citizenship established rights such as those of property, personal liberty, and justice. The 19th century saw the development of political citizenship and the right to political participation. In the 20th century, Marshall identified what he called the final stage of social citizenship which provided rights of economic and social security and helped produce the welfare state.

Marshall's theory is important in that it identified a dynamic concept of citizenship where participation is an essential component. However, critique of

Marshall has included that his stages represent the citizenship experiences of European white working men. While he identified social citizenship as the future conqueror of class inequality and economic oppression, he ignored other oppressions, including gender and race. Fraser and Gordon (1994) claimed that the gain of civil rights benefited white males rather than "individuals." They wrote:

> 'Having dependents,' in fact, became in some jurisdictions a qualification for full civil citizenship. The legal subsumption of wives in coverture, and the legal classification of slaves as property, therefore, were no simple matters of exclusion. They actually helped instead to define civil citizenship, for it was by protecting, subsuming and even owning others that white, male property owners and family heads became citizens. (p. 98)

Fraser and Gordon (1994) suggested that the U.S. has an elaborate discourse on civil citizenship - political rights and social obligations - and a lack of public debate on social citizenship. They noted the centrality and pride evoked from phrases like "freedom of speech," while social provisions lack the "aura of dignity" surrounding "citizenship." They wrote:

> It is telling, therefore, that Americans rarely speak of 'social citizenship.' That expression, if used, would convey the idea that in a welfare state citizenship carries entitlements to social provision. It would bring social provisions within the aura of dignity surrounding 'citizenship' and 'rights'. People who enjoy 'social citizenship' get 'social rights,' not handouts. (p. 90)

This rhetoric is the language used in the binary contract versus charity debates over welfare state policy.

Aleinkoff (1997) posited that excluding immigrants from federal entitlement programs reflects a "tightening circle of membership" away from previous public policy that has viewed immigrants as "members-becoming" or "citizens-in-training." He wrote, "The problem with drawing a hard-and-fast legal immigrant/citizen line is that the transition from immigrant to citizen is a process, a maturation, an evolution - not an on/off switch" (p. 328). European and Commonwealth countries[4] extend to newcomers a broad social welfare net covering health, employment protection, child

care support, and educational needs. The U.S. offers fewer benefits to noncitizens. Newcomers are not eligible at the same level as citizens. Within the rhetoric of "welfare crisis" and "individual responsibility," immigrants, like minorities, are often considered unfair users of the services for which they are eligible.[5]

Habermas (1994) wrote that all modern societies are moving beyond the nation-state and towards internationalization. He wrote that citizenship never equaled national identity and offered the examples of Switzerland and the United States, as multicultural societies that:

> demonstrate that a political culture in the seedbed of which constitutional principles are rooted by no means has to be based on all citizens sharing the same language or the same ethnic and cultural origins. Rather, the political culture must serve as the common denominator for a constitutional patriotism which simultaneously sharpens an awareness of the multiplicity and integrity of the different forms of life which co-exist in a multicultural society. (p. 27)

Cultural pluralism is accepted and even encouraged, as evidenced by the interest of native-born Americans in ethnic foods, festivals, and even religion. However, because citizenship in the United States is based on shared political beliefs rather than shared country of birth, ethnicity, or religion, uniformity in adherence to a democratic belief system is demanded of all citizens. The three values at the foundation of democratic order are individualism, equality/egalitarianism, and toleration of dissent/opposition. The civic actions required to accompany this ideological loyalty are open to interpretation.

Newcomers arrive in the U.S. having experienced different governmental systems, economic conditions, community structures, and channels of opportunity. The previous political socialization of newcomers suggests both competing political loyalty and deviant and tenacious non-democratic ideologies. This perceived threat to ideological unity and political stability is one root in nativism. However, nativism must also be understood as a reaction to perceptions of loss or possible loss of one's status and position - economic and social.

Old and New Nativism

In the mid 1700s, Benjamin Franklin offered his viewpoint on German immigrants to the United States:

> [T]hose who came hither are generally the most stupid of their own nation, and as ignorance is often attended with great credulity, when knavery would mislead it, and with suspicion when honesty would set it right; and few of the English understand the German language, and so cannot address them either from the press or pulpit, it is almost impossible to remove any prejudice they may entertain...Not being used to liberty, they know not how to make modest use of it. (as cited in Hing, 1997, p. 14)

Giroux (1987) theorized that today, as in the past, American patriotism is equated with nationalistic chauvinism and moral fundamentalism. A generation ago, Eugenist[6] Madison Grant (1916, 1930) warned of the need to maintain "American identity," a white European identity, by restricting immigration. Today, books like Alien Nation by Peter Brimlow (1995) echo the same warning as earlier nativists.

The term "nativism" has been subject to various interpretations by scholars. A starting point for a discussion of this topic is historian John Higham's (1988) widely accepted definition of nativism as "intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign (i.e., 'un-American') connections" (p. 4). Perea (1997) bluntly introduced an edited text on contemporary nativism with, "During nativist times in the United States, democratic processes are turned against internal minorities deemed foreign or "un-American," resulting in discriminatory legislation and immigration restriction" (p. 1).

Feagin (1997) identified four major "themes" found in historical and contemporary nativism:

1. Certain "races" are intellectually and culturally inferior and shouldn't be allowed in great numbers into the country.

2. Those who have immigrated from racially and culturally inferior groups can not assimilate to the dominant Anglo culture.

3. "Inferior" immigrants take jobs away from native-born Americans and disrupt the economy.

4. Immigrants create government crises such as corrupting the voting system and overloading school and welfare systems.

Expressions of nativism and racism have taken on many forms in the history of the United States. The first citizenship legislation, the Naturalization Law of 1790, allowed only free white immigrants to apply for citizenship. Native Americans were not granted citizenship by birth in territory, *jus soli*, until 1924. Blacks were denied national citizenship until the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment. However, even after the Civil War, judicial translation of the Amendment continued to deny them citizenship rights. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act barred this particular nationality from immigration to the U.S.[7] From the mid-1800s through the early 1900s, Irish and Italians and other turn-of-the-century immigrants were targets of groups including the Immigration Restriction League.[8] After World War One, Germans and German Americans were prohibited from teaching or using the German language (Higham, 1988). A "Gentlemen's Agreement" in 1907 restricted Japanese immigration. During World War Two, Executive Order 9066 (1942) authorized placing American citizens of Japanese descent into internment camps (Takaki, 1993). Japanese were not eligible for naturalized citizenship until the passage of the McCarron-Walter Act of 1952. In the 1950s Jews were blacklisted and immigrants from Southeastern Europe were questioned for communist affiliations (Perea, 1992).

Restrictionism as a national ethos has always influenced U.S. immigration legislation. Three restrictionist strategies employed in the history of American immigration listed by Zucker and Zucker (1987) were (a) curtailment of immigration, such as the exclusion of specific groups or immigration suspension proposals; (b) barriers to immigration, such as literacy or economic self-sufficiency tests; and (c) strict

regulation of numbers and types of immigrants permitted entry, such as quotas or deportation provisions.

Derrick Bell (1980) proposed a theory of interest-convergence which holds that the treatment of African Americans, and by extension other people of color, is based on the political interests of the white majority. That is, until it is seen as disadvantageous, whites will discriminate against weaker non-white minorities. For example, the Soviet's advertisements of America's mistreatment of people of color and America's corresponding loss of face during the Cold War period probably served as a major motivation for the passage of civil rights legislation and the Brown vs. Board of Education decision. Perea (1997) suggested that Bell's theory may explain, in part, the resurgence of nativism in the United States. He wrote:

> The corollary is that in the absence of an external moral imperative such as cold-war competition, when it is no longer perceived to be in the interests of whites to support equality goals, then there will be a deterioration in concern about the condition of America's racial and ethnic minorities. (p. 3)

Today's rising anti-immigrant sentiment and racial scapegoating of particular minorities for U.S. cultural and economic decline has articulated itself in a number of contemporary anti-immigrant political projects. California's Proposition 187 denies undocumented immigrants medical services and education (Johnson, 1997). Congress has considered resolutions to amend the Fourteenth Amendment to change entitlement to birthright citizens and deny citizenship to U.S.-born children of undocumented immigrants (Roberts, 1997). Seventeen states have legislation declaring English as the official language of the state and an English language amendment has been introduced repeatedly in Congress (Crawford, 1992; Piatt, 1990; Tatalovich, 1997; Walsh, 1991). Omi and Winant (1994) and Takaki (1989) suggested that the meaning of racial equality has also been rearticulated by theorists such as Nathan Glazer (1976) who denounced affirmative action as an unfair accommodation to racial minorities' demands for preferential employment and school admissions at the expense of whites.[9]

Muller (1997) listed several common conditions under which anti-immigrant sentiments increase (a) economic and job uncertainty and insecurity among the nation's residents; (b) social, ethnic and cultural disparities between newcomers and native-born population; and (c) a large and sustained in-migration period. Chavez (1997) added that contemporary anti-immigrant feelings also are the result of the end of the Cold War and perceptions of immense undocumented immigration. Chavez (1997) differentiated between previous and contemporary expressions of nativism. He suggested:

> What is new in the "new" nativism, perhaps, is the extent to which immigrants, even those who are legal residents and citizens, are being reimagined as less deserving members of the community. What began as a prairie fire against undocumented immigrants quickly ignited into a major round of immigration reform, with immigrants facing denial of many social services. The benefits immigrants have historically brought to this "nation of immigrants" have become overshadowed by the cost of immigration. To be "immigrant" today is tantamount to being a "cost" to society, a cost that must be reduced if the nation is to get its house in order and balance its budget. In the discourse of contemporary social sciences, immigrants have become the less moral, undeserving, and threatening Other in society. (p. 73)

The most recent headline-making anti-immigrant political projects are the passage of the Welfare Reform Act[10] and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996. These measures, in addition to ending guarantees of cash assistance to children in poverty, also restricted benefits to which legal and undocumented immigrants were formerly entitled. In passing these acts, Congress was responding to anti-immigrant sentiment and the unfounded belief that undocumented immigrants, "illegal aliens,"[11] stream into the U.S. to sign up on welfare rolls.[12] This overuse of public services is believed to cause the quality of social service programs to decline and to strain local, state, and national budgets. The idea that restricting the availability of public benefits removes the incentive for undocumented immigration (Fragomen, 1996) has not been borne out by any existing studies.

One of the most controversial aspects of the new welfare law cuts Social Security Income (SSI), Medicaid, and food stamps for most legal tax-paying

immigrants. According to the Social Security Administration, 500,000 immigrants nationwide and 16,000 in Massachusetts were slated to lose their SSI benefits in 1997 (Jacobs, 1997). Thousands of desperate immigrants began applying for citizenship as a way to retain those benefits. Applications[13] for citizenship rose from approximately 400,000 in 1994 to 1 million in 1996 (Serafini, 1996), partly in response to the impending benefits cuts.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) estimated citizenship applications rose 52% from January 1996 through June 1997. The office anticipates receiving a record 1.8 million applications for naturalization in 1997 (Dugger, 1997). This has caused a backlog and slowdown in the time it takes to complete the naturalization process. According to the Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy coalition (MIRA) (personal communication, August 8, 1997), the naturalization process can take up to 21 months in some parts of the country.

In the winter of 1996, a sampling of community-based organizations in Massachusetts reported averages of doubling in the numbers of newcomers seeking citizenship classes or naturalization application assistance. In the Dominican community in Lawrence, Massachusetts, the citizenship program director documented a 300 percent increase in 1997 citizenship class registrations over the last year. The Boston office of the INS had been receiving 2,000 applications for citizenship per month in federal fiscal year (FFY) 1996 (October 1 to September 30). INS/Boston reported an increase to 4,000 applications a month in 1997 (Office for Refugees and Immigrants, 1997).

Not just the number, but the age of immigrants going through the naturalization process is changing. In the spring of 1997, 9 out of 10 naturalization applicants to the Massachusetts INS office were over 65 years old (Rosetta Martini, personal communication, March 3, 1997). Citizenship classes became flooded with elderly,

many lacking basic English skills or native language literacy skills. Many others do not yet qualify for the 5-year residency naturalization requirement.[14]

Immigration, Citizenship, and Empowerment

The Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy Coalition (1997) recently wrote, "In this era of welfare reform, the relevance of citizenship services takes on an entirely new dimension" (p. 1). The Balanced Budget Act[15] signed into law by President Clinton on August 5, 1997, represented a great victory for immigration advocates. Major immigrant provisions in the Act included restoring SSI and Medicaid to "qualified" immigrants who were receiving SSI when the bill was enacted. It also extended benefits for one year to those no longer considered "qualified immigrants." Legal residents who were lawfully residing in the U.S. when the welfare reform bill was enacted will be eligible if they become disabled and needy in the future. However, these provisions are not a repeal of the welfare bill. Bars on food stamps for most legal immigrants remain. Additionally, most legal immigrants who entered the U.S. after August 22, 1996 will continue to be barred from access to SSI. Some other radical changes in immigrant eligibility for assistance that remain include counting the income of the newcomers' sponsors to determine eligibility for certain benefit programs.

The summer of 1997 also saw an outraged blitz of media coverage at the discovery of 50 deaf Mexicans held in slavery in New York and other locations around the U.S. The focus was on corrupt smugglers preying on illegal immigrants. In a Washington Post op-ed article, Epps (1997) wrote that the root causes for such situations are documented and undocumented immigrants' fear of current immigration legislation. The resulting susceptibility to economic abuse and exploitation have been largely ignored. He wrote, "Restricting the rights of immigrants, whether legal or illegal, creates a population with little recourse against those who subject them to inhuman conditions or even outright slavery" (p. A 21).

Epps (1997) continued to propose that such social injustice is not introduced into a society overnight, but is a gradual process. He proposed that the development of African American enslavement was assisted by a loss of access by African American indentured servants to the court system. He also identified a relationship between the World War II internment of Japanese Americans and 19th century laws denying Japanese immigrants the right to become citizens. Epps (1997) asserted that today's narrowing definitions of immigrants by citizenship or legal immigration status is a first step towards a society in which exploitative situations, such as with the deaf Mexicans in New York, will become more commonplace.

Citizenship does more than restore federal benefits such as SSI to the elderly. Citizenship allows newcomers a vote and a voice in the electoral arena which has the potential to affect their future. Citizenship can also strengthen a sense of self-confidence and belonging, encourage civic activism, and assist in developing an identity incorporating both the culture of the newcomers' birth and host countries (Becker, 1993). However, Brubaker (1989b) reminded us that possession of full political rights does not guarantee their effective use. This is particularly true for individuals limited by language and socioeconomic status and groups limited in organizational and financial resources.[16] Citizenship does not automatically provide advantages in the labor market, housing market or educational system, or change one's categorization in a racially stratified democracy.

Possession of citizenship status needs to be accompanied by usage of tools available in a democracy to overcome marginalization. Citizenship education classes can encompass empowerment strategies to accompany the various steps of the naturalization process. Becker (1993) noted how exam preparation can incorporate empowerment strategies:

> Applicants can learn not only about the government structure but how it personally relates to their lives. The mandated government knowledge can be useful as a starting point for immigrants to envision how they

> would like to use the electoral system and grassroots activism for the betterment of their family and community. Instructors can assist their students in strategizing how to use governmental institutions and political action to help them realize the lives they envision for themselves. Educators can work in conjunction with immigrant advocates and elected and appointed officials to expose students to the many possibilities. (p. 123)

Becker (1993) interviewed Latino community, education, and political leaders and reviewed literature in the area to define empowerment within the context of citizenship. The definitional framework which emerged covered the themes of (a) political participation, (b) self-reliance, (c) fulfilling of potential/dreams, (d) critical thinking and social change, and (e) self-determination.

Varied Interpretations of "Citizen Participation"

Recent discussions on the state of America's civil society frequently mention a 1991 Charles E. Kettering Foundation study. The study noted that Americans expressed anger, alienation, and dissatisfaction with politicians, lobbyists, and the media. In other research, Putnam (1995) identified contemporary declines in participation not only in voter turnout, but also in attendance in town and school business, labor union membership, and associational memberships such as Parent-Teacher Associations, the American Red Cross, and the League of Women's Voters.

An informed and involved citizenry is the ideal of our democracy. "Active citizenship," "civic participation," and "citizen participation" are among the terms used to describe acting on the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Definitions of citizen participation vary in regards to objectives, means, spheres, and scope. Almond and Verba (1963) noted differences in perceptions of "good" citizens along regional, socioeconomic, religion, age, sex, and ethnic group lines. Ichilov (1990) mapped the dimensions of the role of a citizen in a democracy along a continuum from narrow to broad definitions. He concluded:

> The narrowest extreme involves verbal support of principles, based primarily on affection, and is characterized as obligatory and passive and is guided by particularistic and instrumental orientations. It expresses consent by conventional means and perceives citizenship as related to

> objects exclusively in the political domain and within the national arena. The broadest profile consists of actual behavior, based upon cognition and evaluation, and is characterized as voluntary and active and is guided by a diffuse orientation. It reflects a more equal balance between universalistic and particularistic orientations and may include the expression of dissent via unconventional methods. Citizenship is perceived as related to a plurality of civic/social domains, including the national and the transnational arenas. (pp. 21-22)

Pateman (1970) and others hold that variations in definitions of terms such as citizen participation reflect underlying ideological differences in definitions of democracy. Citizenship can be conceptualized across a continuum between liberal and participatory models of democracy.[17] In the liberal paradigm, the political is separated from the civic. Participation in politics is seen as exclusively affecting decisions in the state, government, and political parties (Dahl, 1963; Milbrath, 1965). Participatory democracy extends citizens' participation into all areas of life, family, school workplace, church, and politics.[18] In this conception, people are the state and participation in all areas of society builds self-development of the individual, a.k.a. the state. Communitarians such as Boyte and Lappé (1990) seek to redefine politics as "the practice of citizen problem-solving and action" rather than "a set of techniques dominated by experts and political professionals" (p. 417). Barber (1984) wrote:

> To be a citizen *is* to participate in a certain conscious fashion that presumes awareness and engagement in activity with others. This consciousness alters attitudes and lends to participation that sense of the *we* I have associated with community. To participate *is* to create a community that governs itself, and to create a self-governing community *is* to participate. Indeed, from the perspective of strong democracy, the two terms *participation* and *community* are aspects of one single mode of social being: citizenship. (p. 155) [19]

Contemporary participatory democrats echo their predecessors on the inextricable nature of democracy, participation, community, and empowerment. Compare Barber's quote above with an excerpt from Dewey's (1916) Democracy and Education. He wrote, "A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a form of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience" (p. 87).

Some political scientists (Moynihan, 1969) have feared that a shift from our representative democracy towards a participatory democracy, with active participation of the "unwashed masses," would undermine the democratic process. Some fear that strong participation would hamper governmental authority. Others see splintering into narrow interest group positions and actions. In this view, the politically inactive are considered to hold antidemocratic and intolerant positions.

Studies such as the National Citizen Participation Demonstration Project (Thomson, Berry, & Portnoy, 1994) have found that expanded participation strengthens pro-democratic attitudes and relationships including support of the democratic system, trust in government officials, and tolerance of multiple viewpoints. The study concluded that participation builds trust, breaks down alienation, and allows the creation of common ground rather than fostering interest group tensions. An important finding that seems commonsensical is that there is a strong relationship between participation and a sense of community.

Arnstein (1969) defined citizen participation as citizen power. She wrote:

> The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you. Participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of democracy - a revered idea that is vigorously applauded by virtually everyone. The applause is reduced to polite handclaps, however, when this principle is advocated by the have-not blacks, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Eskimos, and whites. And when the have-nots define participation as redistribution of power, the American consensus on the fundamental principle explodes into many shades of outright racial, ethnic, ideological, and political opposition. (p. 216)

Without the redistribution of power to the disenfranchised, participation does not end in social reform but rather is a frustrating, empty experience. Arnstein (1969) granted, for example, that information about rights, responsibilities, and options is necessary for citizen participation. However, when there is a one-way flow from powerholders to the people, it becomes a form of tokenism in participation. It is necessary for citizens to inform powerholders and community members about their situations, give feedback, negotiate.

Ichilov (1990) said, "Political socialization and citizenship education have been dominated by a narrow perception of democracy as singularly political" (p. 2). When citizen participation of newcomers is looked at as exclusively political participation, political socialization is often explored as the sole factor in determining participatory orientations. At the community level, citizen participation is often more holistically defined as encompassing and supporting family roles, economic advancement, political involvement, and community formation within and across multiple communities.

Purpose and Overview of the Study

This study will examine how the directors, facilitators, and participants of one Massachusetts citizenship education program define citizen participation. Enabling skills and contexts of citizen participation will also be identified. Examples of how citizen participation is promoted through the curricula of these program will be offered. Internal and external challenges and opportunities for full participation of newcomers in their new society will also be described. Research questions that will guide the study include:

1. Who are today's newcomers in Massachusetts?

2. Who are the service providers offering citizenship education programs in Massachusetts?

3. How are citizenship education program directors, facilitators and participants defining citizen participation?

4. What specific skills and knowledge base do these stakeholders believe are necessary for citizen participation?

5. What are the opportunities and challenges to citizen participation that newcomers face?

6. How is "citizen participation" being promoted in citizenship education curricula?

This inquiry into newcomer citizenship education will be examined through a mulitidisciplinary approach including findings in the fields of (a) adult education; (b) political science; (c) ethnic studies; (d) U.S. history and American studies; (e) critical linguistics and pedagogy; and (f) sociologies of migration, ethnicity and education. The "integration of literatures" (Marshall & Rossman, 1995) will allow the application of theory to develop educational strategies and inform policy within a sociohistorical context. A literature and research review in Chapter 2 will address the related areas of adult citizenship education in the 20th century United States, critical linguistics and pedagogy, political socialization of adult newcomers, and forms of ethnic organizations.

Chapter 3 will outline the research methods employed in this study. Multisite case studies and historical and theoretical literature review will be used. Data collection techniques will include participant observation, interviewing, and document analysis. Data analyzing strategies will be discussed.

Newcomers to Massachusetts and the citizenship providers serving them will be introduced in Chapter 4. The context of the organizations and their citizenship programs will be reviewed. Chapter 4 will also include a discussion on motivations. Incentives of newcomers seeking naturalization will be shared. The motivations of citizenship education program staff for working in this field will also be considered.

Chapter 5 will examine research participants' definitions of citizenship participation, enabling skills and contexts for effective citizen participation. Each category will be presented with illustrative quotes from the research participants. Examples from the sites will demonstrate how these definitions were translated into citizenship education curricula. Chapter 6 will present opportunities and challenges to active citizenship that research participants identified. Examples from the Citizenship, Democracy and Education project (CDEP) and quotes from class participants, facilitators and directors will be used to anchor points in each category.

In the final chapter, I will attempt to connect themes of newcomer adaptation processes, communitarian democratic ideology and critical citizenship education pedagogy. This might be what Rossman and Wilson, (1994) term "shamelessly eclectic," creatively applying concepts from one discipline to another. I will discuss the concept of critical civic literacy in the context of the research findings. I will offer suggestions for program development that may assist citizenship educators as they design and administer democratic citizenship education programs for today's diverse newcomers.

Notes

[1] Provisions in the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of October 3, 1965 included (a) repealing the national origins quotas, (b) establishing a seven-category preference system based on family unification and skills, (c) setting a 20,000 per country limit for the Eastern Hemisphere, and (d) imposing a ceiling on immigration from the Western Hemisphere for the first time (Fix & Passel, 1994, p. 4).

[2] International migration is shaped by complex interactions of social conditions. An overwhelming percentage of recent immigrants come from countries influenced by U.S. economic, political, and cultural imperialism. Radical social critics such as Noam Chomsky have documented how American foreign policy has influenced migration flows from areas such as Mexico, Central America, and Southeast Asia.

[3] Barber (1984) has called voting "the least significant act of citizenship in a democracy" (p. 187).

[4] See Brubaker (1989a) for an overview of social services offered to noncitizen residents of Germany, Sweden, France, U. K., and Canada.

[5] See Quadagno (1994) for a thesis of the effects of racism in shaping attitudes and leading up to the current reductions in social provisions in the U.S. See New Zealand researcher Ian Culpitt (1992) for an examination of the concept of citizenship in relation to the welfare state.

[6] "Eugenics," a term coined by Sir Francis Galton (1883, 1889), was a turn-of-the-century pseudo-science whose goal was the improvement of racial stock by selective mating. Supplanting the more philosophical Social Darwinism of the 1800s, scientists within the Eugenics movement based in racist hereditarian ideology (polygenesis) attempted to prove the superiority of the northern European "races." See Haller (1963) for the history of this pseudo-scientific movement.

[7] Archdeacon (1983) reminded us that the other European colony-founded immigrant-receiving nations during this period, such as Canada and Australia, also created legal barriers to Asian immigration.

[8] Henry Cabot Lodge, a Massachusetts Republican Senator, was one of the founders.

[9] Takaki (1994) and others consider Allan Bakke's suit against the University of California charging that affirmative action was "reverse discrimination" both a symbol and precedent of white backlash reaction in the 1970s.

[10] The formal title is the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, Pub. L. No. 104-193, 110 Stat. 2105 (Aug. 22, 1996).

[11] See Gutierrez (1995) for a discussion of American public identification of undocumented immigrants with Mexican Americans and the identification of Latino citizens as "illegal aliens."

[12] See Fix and Passel (1994) for accurate statistics on immigrants' tax paying and welfare usage and public sector impact.

[13] Another influence on rising numbers of naturalization applications is that the 3 million immigrants granted amnesty under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 are now eligible for citizenship. INS identified an additional factor as the recent requirement to replace I-151 green cards with new counterfeit-resistant I-151s. The INS has seen a portion of long-time permanent residents who were eligible to naturalize (at a cost of $90) choose to do so rather than pay $75 for a new green card.

[14]United States citizenship eligibility rules require applicants to be (a) 18 years of age or older; (b) a Legal Permanent Resident ("Green Card" holder) for at least 5 years or 3 years for those married to a U.S. citizen; (c) a person of good moral character; (d) able to speak, read, write and understand ordinary English words and phrases; and (e) able to demonstrate knowledge and understanding of basic U.S. history and principles of government (INS, 1996).

[15] See http://speakernews.house.gov/budget.htm for a complete review of The Balanced Budget Act of 1997 H.R.2015 (10/15/97).

[16] Miller (1989) noted that, unlike Europe, mass immigration countries like the U. S. and Canada are characterized by citizen and advocacy groups, religious organizations, and political lobbies for newcomers' rights.

[17] See Held (1987) for an overview of various models of democracy.

[18] Verba and Nie (1972) were the first to label citizenship involvement in causes, movements, organizations, groups, and churches as "political." See also Pateman (1970) and Barber (1984).

[19] Barber (1984) proposed strong democracy as a "distinctly modern form of participatory democracy"(p, 117). He offered a formal definition of "strong democracy" as:

> politics in the participatory mode where conflict is resolved in the absence of an independent ground through a participatory process of ongoing, proximate self-legislation and the creation of a political community capable of transforming dependent, private individuals into free citizens and partial and private interests into public good. (p. 132)

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE AND RESEARCH REVIEW

> *It is also important to stress that citizenship education has to be seen as a form of cultural production. That is, the making of citizens has to be understood as an ideological process through which we experience ourselves as well as our relations to others and the world within a complex and often contradictory system of representations and images.*
> (Giroux, 1987, p. 111)

Adult Citizenship Education in 20th Century United States

The teaching of civics to youth in school aims to prepare young citizens for democracy. With the case of newcomer adults who do not participate in formal education in their new country, other agencies and settings influence their civic orientations. Young and old, we are taught that democracy is a collection of formal institutions. Citizenship education or civics is learning about the three branches of government and memorizing the Bill of Rights. Since the Colonial period of the United States, newcomer citizenship education sponsored by churches, schools, and the government has been used as a tool for nativist "Americanization" agendas (Archdeacon, 1983; Carlson, 1987). The various programs had as their overarching goal the inculcation of American cultural values and, more importantly, American political ideology. In 1923, John Dewey wrote:

> We all know that many of us feel like blushing every time we hear the term "Americanization" because to such an extent the idea has been seized upon by certain groups as a means of forcing their own conceptions of American life upon other people. (p. 515)

During different periods in U.S. immigration history, different models of citizenship education have been used. Religious differences that shaped political and social inclusion in the colonial period were replaced in the 18th century with race-based

ideology.[1] An understanding of the historical approaches of citizenship education in the 20th century is necessary to understand the roots of citizenship education today.

The Americanization Movement

Americanization education is usually identified with the campaigns aimed at Eastern and Southern European immigration[2] in the first two decades of this century.[3] However, Carlson (1987) traced anglification projects throughout American history dating back to 17th century colonial New England. The goal of Americanization was to cleanse immigrants of their "foreignisms." The federal and local government,[4] factories,[5] churches, unions, and community organizations used citizenship education to indoctrinate immigrants to patriotic, i.e., Anglo-Saxon Protestant values. All areas of life, even diet and hygiene, were targeted. The rationale was that democracy needed homogeneity and ideological unity. Education was seen as the best medium for creating the ideal homogeneous community. For the privileges of American citizenship, newcomers were required to give up their native language, religion, culture, philosophies, dress, and appearance (Carlson, 1987).

The Settlement House

Beginning in the last part of the 19th century, the Settlement House model of social reform sought to help immigrants adjust to their new surroundings, impart a sense of belonging to the community, and instill a sense of pride (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swindler & Tipton, 1991; Higham, 1992). A main duty of the settlement house was community education to prepare people for community participation. The focus was more on helping newcomers become part of their neighborhood, rather than nation. Settlement House workers such as Jane Addams,[6] a pioneer in the Settlement House Movement and founder of Hull House in Chicago, were willing to learn from the newcomers. An immediate relinquishing of newcomers' cultures was not expected. However, Carlson (1987) wrote that the Settlement House workers still expected

newcomers to eventually acculturate to American patterns of life. He described Settlement House workers as "Humanitarian Americanizers" (p. 64).[7]

Social Reconstructionist Movement

Between the 1920s and 1940s, a group of Social Reconstructionists sought to connect democracy and empowerment both inside and outside of educational institutions (Stanley, 1981; Giroux, 1987). Social Reconstructionists considered labor unions, churches, and neighborhood organizations as venues for nonformal citizenship education. Moving beyond the philosophies of Dewey and Progressivism, they were the forerunners of critical theorists. They viewed the goal of education as facilitating the identification of social injustice and supporting action towards transforming the state. The objectives of citizenship education included developing critical skills and making ethical choices. Giroux (1987) wrote:

> The reconstructionist legacy, while not without flaws, represents the most radical attempt by educators to develop a public philosophy and notion of citizenship education yet developed in the United States. Unfortunately, it also represents a legacy that after the 1950s - with the ascendancy of the Cold War, the Sputnik crisis, and the increasing power of the cultural industry to shape public opinion - has been almost completely ignored by contemporary educators, even those working within the critical tradition. (p. 108)

Citizenship Schools

The citizenship school at Highlander Folk School in Tennessee began as an adult education program to train native-born Appalachian coal and textile workers as labor leaders in 1923. As the school's targets changed according to the needs of the community, they focused on fighting discrimination against African Americans and poor whites. They recognized that voting was one powerful tool. The citizenship school model was developed to teach basic literacy to adults so they could pass the literacy test at polling stations. Advocacy skills and tactics were also included in the curriculum. Miles Horton (1990), co-founder of the Highlander Folk School, emphasized that the right to vote was a first step to social activism. Septima Clark, the

Citizenship School's first director, hired members of the community rather than certified teachers. These "untrained" teachers were role models for lifelong nonformal learning.

Citizenship Education Today

Citizenship education is considered to be in a different category than other kinds of adult literacy education.[8] Becker (1993) differentiated between various types of contemporary citizenship education courses. Standardized or INS citizenship test preparation and general citizenship preparation focus exclusively on either the oral or written testing option. ESOL/Civics combines English language instruction and citizenship instruction. Community or ethnic-oriented citizenship preparation extends the curriculum by including civic and historical issues of interest to the participants in the community. Empowerment citizenship preparation includes the objective of "empowering of applicants to take an active role in civic life" (Becker, 1993, p. 83).

Citizenship education has been shaped by democratic ideology. Citizenship education programs which exclusively focus on legal and structural aspects of government are operating within a liberal interpretation of democracy and citizenship. Those which maintain the philosophical tradition of participatory democracy extend the practice of democracy into all social spheres. These citizenship classes often use empowerment methodologies incorporating critical inquiry, reflection, and action. The current movement towards empowerment education is based in the liberatory education philosophy and pedagogy of Paulo Freire.[9] Dialogue is used as a tool to transform social relations in the classroom, to raise awareness about social relations in greater society, and to recreate knowledge and the ways we learn. Within the context of immigration history, citizenship education classroom participants examine and co-create their identities, roles, and rights as citizens and noncitizens.

Oliner (1983) examined citizenship education in public school for children. However, her hypotheses are equally applicable to citizenship education offered to adult

newcomers in the U.S. She suggested that the focus on government as the core of citizenship education is necessary in that government is the most powerful social institution. A representative democracy also requires citizens educated in, active and vigilant of abuse of that system. Finally she proposed that national stability is dependent on the legitimating of the government. Conversely, she argued that an overarching focus on government in citizenship education has the disadvantages of (a) encouraging feelings of impotence and alienation, (b) externalizing locus of responsibility and minimizing individual accountability, (c) limiting citizen participation to obeying laws, paying taxes, serving on juries and in the armed forces, and (d) failing to foster citizen behavior for building emotionally satisfying relationships and integrative community linkages. Oliner suggested that citizenship education curricula could enhance a sense of community by an increased emphasis on (a) communal values, (b) process of informed decision-making, (c) practice of democratic behavior, and (d) prosocial citizenship behaviors.

The INS exam continues to focus on historical figures, names, dates, offices, and disembodied rights. Despite this challenge, it is more common to see citizenship education classes include a "community outreach," "citizen participation," "active citizenship," or "civic participation" component in their curricula. The popular citizenship text, Citizenship Now: A Guide for Naturalization (Becker & Edwards, 1995) listed asking police for safer streets, advocating for more English as a Second Language classes, and working with neighborhood organizations as ways to "make your voice heard" (p. 103). Citizenship textbooks are beginning to give more attention to laws and changes within contexts of political beliefs and society's values. More routes of influence, such as people's movements, are shown in contemporary texts. However, the core of subject matter remains the institution of government. The implicit message is the centrality of government to citizenship.

Civic Education for Native-Born Adults

Contemporary newcomer citizenship education differs from adult civic education. In first world countries, forms of adult civic continuing education for middle class native-born population include Sweden's "study circles," Japan's "citizen halls," France's "education permanente," and the United States' "National Issues Forum." The purpose of such informal education is to educate the citizenry on public issues, make them aware of the choices that are available, and create opportunities for people to come together to engage in the issues and take action.

In third world countries, popular education for adult populations with less education and opportunity occurs through trade unions and cooperatives, churches, farmers groups, and literacy programs. These educational initiatives use popular education[10] techniques to focus on creating civic awareness, capacity for self-government, and leadership development. In democratic first world countries, freedom of expression, including free press, voting, lobbying, and community forums is taken for granted. Many third world countries are working toward that goal (Oliver, 1987).

Critical Linguistics and Pedagogy

Critical linguists have offered evidence that language is socially constructed (Taylor, 1989) and shapes understanding of self and one's place in a community (Foucault, 1984). Language construction can also be used as one tool in nation-building. Noah Webster (1758-1843), the American lexicographer and author, wrote textbooks and compiled the first dictionary that distinguished American English usage from British. Carlson (1987) attributed a number of goals to this project of developing a uniform American English:

> He [Webster] wanted to insulate Americans from European ideas by nationalizing the spelling and pronunciation of the English language in the U.S. Americanizing the dictionaries and school books, he thought, would overcome the influence on the new nation of British authors by making their spelling and, by association, their ideas appear foreign to Americans. He also expected that a homogeneous national language would help to eliminate sectional strife within the United States. In

> Webster's view, a unique American language would advance the nation's unity and its revolutionary economic, social, and political doctrine. (p. 32)[11]

Curriculum sociologists posit that a hidden curriculum transmits social meanings, values, and individuals' roles in a society. No curriculum can be neutral. Sociologists of education such as Apple, Giroux, McLaren and Shor have examined the sociopolitical ideology implicit in various levels of education curricula.[12] They have identified the reproductive function of schools and their role in preserving the status quo in favor of certain groups and classes. Critical theorists see language and power as interwoven. Gramsci (1971) argued that language both denies voice to the oppressed and validates the hegemony of the existing power structure. Coercion and consent are both involved in consolidating the authority of the ruling group.

Critical pedagogy involves a conscious effort to examine assumptions underpinning how materials and environment (arts, media, textbooks, etc.) mediate meaning. Education should have a responsibility to create dialogue with the goal of understanding and evaluating complex and contradictory situations and creating an environment for participants to develop critical abilities to change social conditions and systems. Some researchers have critically examined adult education content. Auerbach and Burgess (1987), for example, deconstructed the racial and class bias in commonly used survival ESOL materials for adult newcomers.

English language and civic education have been traditionally connected. Weisburd (1994) examined representations of the civic sphere and democratic civic public life in ESOL texts. The texts represented the government, electoral and non-electoral activity, groups, and public issues in ways compatible with particular understandings of democracy. She identified how this content shaped discourses of civic space and membership. Weisburd's analysis of ESOL textbook discourse around citizen participation in the formal political arena, non-electoral activity, and

backgrounds of political understanding informs this research and therefore is quoted at length here. In regards to textbook content, Weisburd theorized:

> Textbook contents reflect judgments about what constitutes valuable and desirable knowledge, and for whom. Whether at the deeper level of syntactical expression or the more manifest level of topics and vocabulary, judgments and choices are made by textbook writers and publishers, people formed by and operating within a complex of social and political structures, practices, and meanings. Identifying which choices are made reveals institutionalized beliefs about the appropriate knowledge - in this case, political knowledge - to transmit, clarifies and highlights socially sanctioned and institutionalized political forms of understanding, and allows the subjection of those understandings to critique. (p. 4)

In the ESOL textbooks examined, voting[13] was represented as the primary electoral activity. Yet it was portrayed as a "disembodied end." Weisburd analyzed:

> The right to vote stood as a disembodied end in itself, devoid of power. It was unconnected to issues, to making one's views known, to gaining representation for an interest group, to raising issues, to influencing elected officials, to making elected officials more responsive or responsible. Participation in the electoral sphere was not shown as bringing about change; neither was change shown as coming about through activities of elected officials, or through public debate over issues. Social issues and problems were present in texts, presented as unconnected to political processes. Political processes existed, left unconnected to social issues. If problems are perceived, the electoral sphere does not appear as a channel of change. The right to vote, and voting, are presented as formal practices serving little clear purpose. (p. 202)

Interest groups were not shown as participating in electoral activities. Weisburd found that non-electoral political activities were marginalized. She argued that collective civic action was not presented as an appropriate response to contemporary social problems and that conflicts of interest were minimized. She said:

> Texts appeared to deflect from the notion of non-electoral civic action, and particularly collective civic action, as a response to contemporary social problems. Problems were stated across texts, without connection to civic actions. Contemporary mass social movements were completely absent. In most cases in which civic action was suggested, it was either stated vaguely, or phrased with an inference gap at the point of civic action. Specific actions were rarely cited. (p. 259)

Weisburd noted that in ESOL texts, "Civic actions were frequently individualized, presented as actions of individuals rather than groups" (p. 259). [14] In the example of civil rights, she continued:

> Social conflicts were consistently obscured in the area of civil rights by representations occurring in various combinations: omitting agents of segregation, omitting violence, suggesting that violence arose from characteristics of blacks (e.g., impatience), eschewing rationales behind the King assassination, omitting civic actions of some groups. Lack of attribution of interests to interest groups, failure to cite relevant interest groups, or locating problems within one group rather than between groups, contributed to minimizing the presence of social conflict. Texts deflect from the notion of social conflict as a rationale for civic action. Actions cited then appear unwarranted, problem-causing, or very issue specific, as, for example, focusing action on bus seats as opposed to 'racism.' (p. 260)

Political principles can provide rationale for civic action. Political principles in ESOL texts were "mentioned largely without context, abstractions unconnected to issues or practices. Principles thus stood apart from immediate concerns, and offer no help in understanding the political world or one's place in it" (p. 268). Weisburd listed freedom of religion and speech as the most common principles and the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence as the only foundational documents mentioned. The concept of laws as socially constructed tools was also found to be absent. The "rightness" of existing laws was unquestioned.

Weisburd offered her rationale for research on translations of democratic ideology presented in education. She argued:

> If we believe that democratic ideals, principles, and institutions cannot simply maintain themselves, but rather that they need continual attention, renewal, critique and reformulation, then we cannot leave conduits of political understanding unexamined. (p. 61)

The impact of language in shaping the sociopolitical world and individual and collective identities is especially pertinent in the discussion of newcomers and citizenship. Immigrants and refugees are in a concurrent process of learning language and its related sociopolitical mores and doctrines of their new society.

Research in Civic Participation in Adult Education

Miller (1995) wrote that over the last 200 years, education has moved away from its original mission of educating active citizens. Adult and continuing education is included in this trend. Adult education in America had as its original goal the strengthening of civil society through political and associational participation. Today, education for citizenship has become education for occupational usefulness. Sondra Stein (1997), Director of the National Institute for Literacy's Equipped for the Future (EFF) project, recently proposed a revised purpose of adult literacy and lifelong learning:

> For too long we have approached adult literacy and lifelong learning as if its purpose is to make up for something adults didn't get in the past. Now we know that its purpose is to prepare adults for the future - to build on what they have already learned from experience as well as formal education, to prepare them for new, unanticipated responsibilities in the present, and to provide them with the tools to enable them to continue to learn. In short, the task before adult educators today is nothing less than to equip their students for the future. (p. 1)

The overarching goal of the multiyear EFF project is to initiate national system reform in adult literacy education. A consensus-building process is being used to identify principle roles in adult lives. Also being categorized are the knowledge bases, skills, and abilities necessary for these roles. The three roles identified through classroom inquiry and focus groups reaching over 1,500 adults are: "worker," "citizen," and "parent." Voluntary curriculum standards will be based on these adult roles. This is a departure from traditional educational standards that are typically academic or skills-based. Materials identification and development and instructional and assessment approaches that support the standards will also be identified in the future.

Each role - "worker," "citizen," and "parent" - is being researched by a consortium of literacy organizations across the nation. The consortium to research the role of citizen is led by the Center for Literacy Studies at the University of Tennessee - Knoxville; the New England Literacy Resource Center (NELRC), Boston; and the Mayor's Commission on Literacy, Philadelphia. Their efforts are called the Civic

Participation Standards Project. A consensus on the overall purpose of citizenship generated from the inquiry projects has been identified by adult learners and practitioners as "the key purpose of citizenship is to take informed action for the common good" (NELRC News, 1997, p. 2).

According to NELRC's director, Silja Kallenbach (personal interview, June 4, 1997), all three role maps are phrased as action-oriented. All activities are things people can do. There is nothing there that says "know how" or "understand." There was a conscious attempt to get away from passive knowledge. The "Citizen Role Map" (Equipped for the Future, Citizen/Community Member Role Map draft/revision May 29, 1997) included four broad areas of responsibility and related key activities:

1. Become and Stay Informed. The five related key activities are (a) identify and monitor problems and community needs, strengths, and resources, for self and others; (b) recognize and understand human, legal, and civic rights and responsibilities, for self and others; (c) figure out how system that affects an issue works; (d) identify how to have an impact and recognize that you can make a difference; and (e) find, interpret, and analyze diverse sources of information (including one's own experience).

2. Form and Express Opinions and Ideas. The four related key activities are (a) strengthen and express sense of self that reflects your history, values, beliefs, and roles in the larger community; (b) learn from others' experiences and ideas; (c) communicate so that others understand; and (d) reflect on and reevaluate your opinions and ideas.

3. Work Together. The five related key activities are (a) get involved in the community and get others involved; (b) respect others and work to eliminate discrimination and prejudice; (c) define common values and goals; (d) manage and resolve conflict; and (e) participate in group processes and decision-making.

4. Take Action to Strengthen Communities. The four related key activities are (a) help self and others; (b) educate others; (c) influence decision makers and hold them accountable; and (d) provide leadership within your communities.

The Civic Participation Standards project has found forms of civic participation to range across a continuum from individual to collective actions that result in personal, social, or institutional change. Kallenbach noted the surprise of adult education teachers at finding out how many of their students were active in their communities, or had been active in their native countries. Additionally, many teachers were fostering civic participation in their classes, but not calling it that. Kallenbach (1996) wrote:

> Many teachers are already fostering civic participation. We have just not called it that. Instead, we are more used to talking about concepts like empowerment. Civic participation is a form of empowerment that begins with the self. It is about people helping other people, or working together to solve problems in the community or the society at large through collective or individual action. The concept of civic participation implies taking action at some point "to make life around us better," as one student put it. (p. 2)

According to Kallenbach (personal interview, June 4, 1997), all teachers said that becoming and staying informed is central. She added that most instruction just stays there. Communication and working together happen sometimes, but skills such as running meetings are much less common, a newer body of knowledge. She noted that action is where we often fall short. The contention of the Civic Participation Standards Project is that unless civic participation leads to some action at some level - it doesn't need to be political - then it isn't really effective. She stated:

> That's why we defined that to be an effective citizen, people do need to take informed action. Just having knowledge doesn't make you an effective citizen, but you do need it in order to ultimately participate at some level - whether it's helping your neighbor to vote or being part of a community or church group or something that takes you beyond the narrow realm of self-interest to at least the realm of enlightened self-interest is what effective citizens do. It doesn't have to happen in the classroom. This represents the notion of citizenship we have learned from talking to people who are active in their communities.

The Equipped for the Future Project and Civic Participation Standards sub-project are focusing on adult learners in adult basic education (ABE) programs and English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) programs. Citizenship education programs for adult newcomers have not been included in this study. Personal interviews with key project staff said that citizenship programs were not included

because of the heavy content focus and limited time period of such programs. However, project staff see citizen education programs as important adult education sites that have not yet been included in the inquiries, but do need to be considered. Many of the Civic Participation Standards project stakeholders are from newcomer communities, especially those from ESOL class inquiry groups. However, the data is not being coded by population characteristics. No differentiation is being made between responses of native-born and foreign-born participants.

The newcomer population's voices need to be heard because they are not necessarily already "active" and may face more formidable barriers to citizen participation than native-born adult learners such as many GED students. Additionally, citizenship participants move in multiple communities and are affected by the political socialization they received in the country of their birth.

Political Socialization of Adult Immigrants

"Army," was the response by a Cambodian man when I asked him if he had done any volunteer activities in Cambodia. An understanding of how political orientations emerge and change over a time can suggest ways by which the meanings of democracy and citizenship can best be reflected and acted upon.

Previous system-analytic perspectives in political socialization theory hold that adults have enduring political orientations developed out of childhood experiences (Hyman, 1959; Easton & Dennis, 1969). Sigel (1989) and others now suggest that the political socialization process is a lifelong process, highly dependent on the social setting in which it takes place. Additionally, political socialization is now seen as an interactive process in which persons are influenced by and in turn influence their environment.

Immigrants must reconcile previous political socialization with developing new roles and identities and rules of political and social behavior in an unfamiliar society.

Hoskin (1989) offered three major theoretical propositions in examining the socialization process of immigrants:

1. Immigrant socialization analysis requires an individually defined focus.

2. Host government policy and public opinion serve as variable correlates of socialization.

3. Immigrant socialization is the balancing of demands for change against strains for continuity.

Individual characteristics of immigrants that affect political socialization processes were identified by Hoskins (1989) as (a) individual motivations to emigrate, (b) the immigrant's initial position in the host society as defined by socioeconomic skills and cultural affinity, (c) group activity, (d) political information and attitudes, and (e) political behavior. These factors have implications for those who are attempting to facilitate political activities as citizen participation in newcomer citizenship education classes.

Chaffee and Yang (1990) suggested that mass media and the level of communication linkage affects the political socialization process of newcomers. They posited that communication is a causal agent in that the failure to adopt host media results in newcomers not becoming strongly socialized into a host country. Losing contact with ethnic media from the country of origin causes a newcomer to become desocialized from his or her original society.

Age seniority, muting of and avoidance of conflict with authority is characteristic of the cultures of many newcomers. Refugees coming from countries with military dictatorships have not experienced any kind of civilian control over armed forces, police or public officials. The concept of government officials being the servants of the people is often alien as a form of citizens' relationship to government.

Hein (1995) documented reactions and participation of Indochinese refugees in a tenant's association rent strike in New York. They had been placed in the building by a

resettlement agency. The other tenants, mostly African Americans, wanted the refugees to participate in the strike. They feared that the white landlord would try to evict the activists and replace them with other compliant refugees. The refugees initially participated in the rent strike, but participation dropped off after some repairs were made and warm weather temporarily resolved the problem of inadequate heat.

Hein analyzed reasons for low levels of participation as a combination of past political experience, the migration process, resettlement agency policy, and race relations. Some of the refugees expressed the belief that their life in the building was temporary, either on the way to reuniting with family in other parts of the U.S. (secondary migration), or they hoped to return to their own country. They were unaccustomed to the culture of the building - doors were kept closed and neighbors did not socialize in the halls. The sponsoring agency did not support their participation in the rent strike as it sought uncomplicated relations with city landlords. Hein also identified that the agency feared the refugees might become aware of their rights and use newly-acquired activist skills around the issue of welfare. The refugees had been quick to come to race-based negative images of their African American neighbors after a number of muggings and robberies. The other tenants in the building criticized the refugees' lack of English-speaking skills and habits such as men wearing "skirts" (sarongs) around the building.

But more important for this discussion is the effects of differences in political culture. Hein noted the reaction of the refugees to the strike and how this reaction was perceived by the other tenants:

> One Cambodian man who attended the tenants' association meetings was bothered by differences in political culture. He explained, "I don't like the meetings because they are disorganized. There is so much quarreling. The Americans all seem so angry and too many people speak at once." The native residents' tactic of using anger at the landlord to increase interest among other tenants failed to work with the refugees. According to the leader of the association, "The refugees are like the old type of tenants when the association was just getting started and nobody cared. We have to show the refugees that by helping the association they are helping themselves." (p. 64)

Harles (1993) studied the political views of Laotians. He documented the negative connotations of dishonesty and danger that the term "politics" has for this group. He found that Lao who have become politically active in the U.S. were former elites. Their current activism and their former roles as political decision makers in Laos have hindered the community leadership development and community participation by other Lao of non-elite backgrounds in the U.S.

While living in the U.S., many newcomers continue to participate in some degree in the political systems of their native country. For immigrants coming from democratic regimes, they often seek to strengthen their voices in the affairs of their homeland such as rights to vote in homeland elections and dual citizenship. Political mobilization for assisting efforts in overthrowing communist governments is a common form of activism. The strength of this political orientation is based on dreams of returning to their homeland, no matter how improbable it may actually be. This fits the common pattern of first generation immigrants' political concerns being focused on homeland issues. Interest in U.S. politics is often dependent on the newcomers' residency or sojourner orientation. Today, the increased ease in transportation and communication also helps to maintain immigrants' strong attachments to home country issues (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). Because many contemporary immigrants did not start arriving until the late 1960s, a strong homeland orientation continues to predominate in this population.

Portes and Rumbaut (1990) in the United States and Rubinstein and Adler (1991) in Israel have found first-generation immigrants quiescent and uninvolved in the politics of their new country, while remaining committed to politics in their home country. Black (1984, 1987) offered opposing evidence that many first-generation newcomers in Canada were involved in their host country's politics even in their first few years in Canada.

Some newcomers come from democratic countries such as Jamaica and India. However, many of these democratic countries were recently under colonial rule. This begs consideration of the effects on political socialization of histories including slavery, geographic occupation, cultural, economic, and linguistic oppression, and dominant alliance relations (Memmi, 1965), which is beyond the scope of this research.

With regard to laws, newcomers often bring practices sanctioned within their home society that may or may not be legal under U.S. law. They might continue to operate under constraints from their native homeland legal system that may not be constraints here. The United States might conversely provide new constraints that would be inconceivable within their native society. For example, Scott (1988) and others have documented continuation of the traditional practice of bride theft[15] in Hmong communities in the U.S. Occurrences have caused conflict both between U.S. authorities and the Hmong communities and within the Hmong community itself. Hmong community members are often divided on the continuation of such practices. Conflict erupts in the social organization of the community if a clan member countermands the clan's recommendation and seeks help from the local authorities.

Ethnic Community Organization

The existence and structure of ethnic community organization also has an effect on the spheres of newcomer citizen participation and development of new identities in the new society. Immigrants and refugees have historically formed self-help associations based on native country ties such as locality, language, religion, or kinship; or special interest political or economic groups. American Chinatowns, for example, had district associations called *huiguan*, clan associations, and rotating credit associations. Chan (1991) wrote:

> Associations formed by Asian immigrants, like those created by immigrants of other origins, provided mutual aid to their members and served as settings where co-ethnics could partake of warmth and conviviality. At the same time, they functioned as instruments of social control over the masses of immigrants and as legitimizers of the status

> accorded particular immigrant leaders. The latter exercised power and acquired prestige not only by virtue of being officers of community organizations but also by serving as communication links - and consequently, as power brokers - between their compatriots and the external world. (p. 63)

The structure of community self-help associations was based on organizational structures in the home country. Leaders and qualifications for leadership were also transferred. Associations and migration networks through district or kinship were intimately connected. The structure of contemporary immigrant and refugee legislation which preferences skilled, family members of immigrants and refugees in America and newcomer refugees is believed to have changed the structure of migration. Chain migration and networks including leadership structure, which are characteristic of prior immigrant migration, have been replaced by geographically and socially mixed migration (Gold, 1992; Light & Bhachu, 1993; Massey, Alarcon, Durand & Gonzalez, 1987; Okamura, 1983). However, there is evidence that Indochinese (Institute For Asian Studies, 1988), Cuban refugees (Portes & Bach, 1985), and other groups continue to use kin and friendship networks in migration. For refugees, welfare eligibility, English classes, job training, and placement benefits also may hinder community organization. These services allow many newcomers to avoid ethnic labor markets. Previous immigrant groups were provided these services by private ethnic or voluntary organizations. This in turn hinders co-ethnic dependence and community formation (Gold, 1992).

The immigrant and refugee populations who have arrived post-1965 have been extremely heterogeneous in education and professional skills as well as age levels. Zucker and Zucker (1987) suggested a subdivision of refugees into "waves" and "vintages." Waves indicate the time of refugees arrival to the host country. Vintages refer to the time and circumstances of departure from the native country. There is usually time spent in asylum countries and processing facilities that separate time of departure from the native country and time of arrival in the host country. Stein (as cited

in Zucker & Zucker, 1987) used the term "public title" to describe the homogeneous classifications assigned to refugee groups by Americans. Differences in culture, language, religion, education, political system, economics, subsistence patterns, and even nation are often ignored.

Like immigrants before them, rather than instant solidarity, recently arrived newcomer groups are factionalized by ideology, religion, ethnicity, geographic region, class and occupation, and conditions of migration and settlement (Gold, 1992; Nguyen & Henkin, 1984; Skinner, 1980).[16] Earlier arrivals in refugee flows are typically from higher socioeconomic classes and, in cases such as the Vietnamese, spent less time persecuted under Communist rule than later arrivals. Researchers such as Nguyen and Henkin (1982), who studied Vietnamese refugee communities in the U.S., offered that the first waves' downward mobility causes lower levels of contentment than that felt by later arrivals.

Community organization has tended to organize around exclusive interest groups[17] within one of the above identities rather than throughout the entire population (Breton, 1964; Finnan & Cooperstein, 1983; Gold, 1992; Kim 1981; Nguyen & Henkin, 1984). Those researchers have also noted a "too many leaders, too few followers syndrome." Family /friend networks often are the mainstay of social and economic bonds and aid even when ethnic organizations, agencies, and public programs are available (Caplan, Whitmore & Bui, 1985; Hirayama & Hirayama, 1988; Kibria, 1993).

Ethnic Enclaves

Enclaves were first formed in the United States when slaves, Native Americans, Asians, and other minorities were banned from the political system. These groups moved physically and politically outward to homogeneous communities. The inward focus of these communities was on individuals, families, and communities for economic and cultural/spiritual support (Omi & Winant, 1994). An example of ethnic enclaves in Asian American history is the creation of relatively self-sufficient and protective

Chinatowns, Japantowns, and Manilatowns. Portes and Manning (1986) wrote that ethnic enclaves are formed as a result of unequal economic position and resultant challenges to assimilation.[18] Ethnic enclaves are thought to transform immigrants into "either to hopeless communities of 'unmeltable' ethnics or to militant minorities, conscious of a common identity and willing to support a collective strategy of self-defense rather than relying on individual assimilation" (p. 49).

Ethnic enclaves have been found to produce economic benefits to their residents. Enclaves are also cultural repositories of how life in their native country is (Woldemikael, 1987) or was before political or social upheaval and transformation (Farber, 1987). Arguelles (1982) suggested that enclave residents have higher political participation rates than nonenclave residents. However, as a block, enclaves hold more conservative social and political values. Social deviance and disloyalty to the host system are not tolerated.

Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs)

Past immigrant communities in the U.S. had self-supporting self-help organizations. Many still function today. However, in the past 20 years, refugee newcomers have been beneficiaries of government funding for developing Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs). In the most general terms, MAAs are private, nonprofit organizations managed and operated by refugees. Some common goals of MAAs include promoting mutual understanding and friendship between refugees and Americans; assisting refugees in employment placement and receiving public assistance benefits; providing English classes and other tutorial programs; acting as clearinghouses for community news; encouraging preservation of native culture in the host society; and assisting in family reunification (Rutledge, 1992). MAAs vary in size, organizational maturity, and effectiveness (Zucker & Zucker, 1987). The six major service focuses MAAs can be categorized under are (a) cultural preservation/social activities, (b) religious services, (c) special constituency groups, (d) resettlement/social services, (e)

business and economic development, and (f) advocacy and political action (Indochina Resource Action Center, 1988).

The U.S. government saw the possibility for sharing responsibilities for providing social services between the voluntary refugee resettlement agencies (VOLAGs)[19] and social service agencies and the new MAAs. Both the refugees and Americans had the idea that social services could be provided more effectively and in more culturally and linguistically appropriate ways by refugee organizations. Jenkins (1988) has explored how immigration and social welfare policies influence self-help organization and how ethnic associations are now fulfilling a number of social service functions. Some groups remain focused on their original agendas to which they add social services. Others change their overt agendas to providing social services, while keeping their original agendas covertly. Organizations also have been set up[20] after the realization of the possibility of funding.

Zucker and Zucker (1987) have listed benefits and liabilities of using MAAs as part of the resettlement system. Benefits include more readily available services to hard-to-reach groups such as older refugees. The MAA leaders can present the voices of the community to decision-makers regarding various resettlement issues. Liabilities have included tension between MAAs and service providers in competition over funding and the use of MAAs as tools in community leadership power struggles. Hein (1993a) presented evidence that state welfare intervention in the case of Indochinese refugees conflicts with traditional self-help organization forms.

State sponsored MAAs often become the dominant associations in refugee communities and have sometimes been criticized as working toward the goals of the state rather than the community. This causes internal conflicts with other cultural, special interest, political and economic associations and indigenous leaders within the refugee community. MAAs are both the primary self-help organizations and voice of the community to the larger American community.[21] However, the development and

functioning of MAAs and new forms of leadership has been accompanied by intense conflict within the communities. Leaders by virtue of their homeland qualifications, who have a strong legitimacy in the community often must give up their positions to younger, American educated leaders. It has been argued that community-identified needs are sometimes subsumed under services (and agendas) a funding agency will support (Hein, 1995).

MAAs vary in the range of services they provide and the approaches used. Mortland (1993) wrote that most funders and other social service organizations believe, or ignore the myth, that the social service models in MAAs are based on an American model of social service provision. Often they are actually operating on a different conceptual model. The United States and other industrialized, bureaucratic societies function under a provider-client model that stresses access directly and on an individual basis. In non-industrialized societies such as those in Southeast Asia, resource and service distribution works on a group system - immediate family, extended family, village (Keyes, 1977) and a patronage system (Scott, 1977).

Mortland wrote, "refugees act in their new world on models that come from their old world, using strategies that are patronage- and group-based" (p.25).[22] Indochinese refugees come from societies where social welfare is accessed not through government bureaucracies, but social networks.[23] Abhay, Portz and Tran (1991) and others have described how MAA leadership often functions in traditional and culturally familiar governing styles. The village in the refugees' new society may become the Mutual Assistance Associations with the organization and its leadership as a patron. Mortland offered the following critique:

> The notion of refugee MAAs being democratically-organized groups responding to the needs of the community by obtaining funding to meet those needs is a myth. The reality is that Mutual Assistance Associations in the United States (SEAR[24] and otherwise) are created by individuals in response to governmental conceptions of what should be. These individuals then perpetrate the myth of the group that is democratically-

> based and run in order to obtain funds while incidentally offering services. (p. 28)

Pan-ethnic Organization

Pan-ethnic organizations have been operating in Native American, Latin American, and Asian American communities since the 1960s. Espiritu (1992) defined a pan-ethnic group as "a politico-cultural collectivity made up of peoples of several, hitherto distinct, tribal or national origins" (p. 2). Pan-ethnic American organizations are examples of organizational responses to U.S. policies that identify individuals and communities under racial umbrella terms such as "Asian American" or "Hispanic." Omi and Winant (1994) proposed:

> How one is categorized is far from a merely academic or even personal matter. Such matters as access to employment, housing, or other publicly or privately valued goods; social program design and the disbursement of local, state, and federal funds; or the organization of elections (among many other issues) are directly affected by racial classification and the recognition of "legitimate" groups. (p. 3)

Despite distinctive traditions and histories in newcomers' countries of descent and in the United States, these ethnic groups sometimes come together to protect collective goals. A contemporary example is how the U.S. English movement to make English the official language of the U.S. has helped strengthen cooperative action in the Spanish-speaking community.[25] Panethnicity creates new "ethnic" boundaries and organizational structures that transcend national origin identification (Espiritu, 1992; Lopez & Espiritu, 1990; Nagel, 1982, 1986; Padilla, 1985). Class, gender, generation, and cultural differences are all thought to be subsumed.

Asian American immigration history provides clear examples of the development of a pan-ethnic organization. Espiritu and Ong (1994) wrote, "Outside the ethnic enclaves, persons of Asian descent find themselves in political and social situations that demand that they act on a racial basis" (p. 301). Early Asian immigrants had to overcome intracommunity factions to advocate for rights. An example of this occurred in the late 1800s, when a formal umbrella association composed of the

Chinatown district associations of California called *Zhonghua Huiguan* (Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association) was created. The main purpose was to present a unified front to the outside world and specifically to fight against anti-Chinese legislation (Chan, 1991; Lai, 1987).

The overarching mission of pan-ethnic organizations is "to promote racial solidarity by defining economic, political, and social issues in racial terms and by presenting a unified front against the dominant society" (Espiritu & Ong, 1994, p. 302). Organizing politically along pan-ethnic identity has both benefits and risks. Lowe (1991) warned that minimizing differences "underestimates differences and hybridities among Asians," (p. 30) and supports and conforms to the racist homogenizing discourse. Other identities such as gender are subsumed.[26] Pan-ethnic organizations have sometimes disrupted the existing power structures in newcomer communities.

Espiritu and Ong (1994) posited that class differences within minority communities and organizations are the greatest challenge to racial solidarity. Class divisions are said to fragment the population and create a class of "professional social activists" (p. 295) who seek to organize under the racial hyphenated categories around various interests such as social service, advocacy, special interests, and politics. The result is a membership that clusters around a narrow "professional-managerial class" (p. 303). Class subsumes race as the basis for collective action.

Espiritu and Ong (1994) argued that interaction with government officials and agencies requires a level of political sophistication which favors the better-educated professional and managerial class. Networking within their profession and in multiracial coalitions reinforces class linkages. They remind us that this is not a new phenomenon in either voluntary or formal organizations and that the Civil Rights Movement was initiated by African American professionals.[27]

Another factor affecting the development of pan-Asian organization is the changing composition of newcomer populations. Again, the Asian American[28]

community offers an illustrative example. Before 1965, Chinese and Japanese Americans were the majority of Asian Americans. Today there are nearly 30 major ethnic groups. According to the Bureau of the Census (1993), 66% of Asians in the U.S. are foreign-born. The Asian American population and Indochinese groups including "new" Asian immigrant groups continue to be subject to a policy of homogenizing different Asian American groups.[29] The majority of Indochinese refugees are first generation. As a whole, this group has neither embraced pan-Asian identity nor flocked to join pan-Asian organizations.

Discussion

Citizenship education, like all education, operates within the belief systems of a society. Americanization-type citizenship education is based in a traditional deficit model. The adult lacks skills and values believed necessary to be an effective member of the society. Diametrically opposed is citizenship education based on critical theory. This type of education is based on a paradigm which validates adults' cultures, experiences, and multiple literacies.[30]

Citizenship education for newcomers can help mediate an understanding of democracy and citizenship within the context of related sociopolitical values. In citizenship education, as elsewhere, problems that remain in abstraction prevent critical analysis and social action rooted in conflict of interest and power relationships. This is as opposed to grounding problems in particular sociopolitical conditions. Definitions of citizenship can range from passive to active roles. The tendency of educational systems to provide students from power-holding groups exposure to more sophisticated information, knowledge, and active participation in the knowledge creation process, as suggested by sociologists of education, might also be found in citizenship education classes. Weisburd (1994) identified how newcomers are offered passive definitions of citizenship in ESOL textbooks.

Newcomers have been socialized into a variety of sociopolitical systems. Political socialization and the structure of ethnic communities and community organizations need to be considered for their effect on newcomers' participation in their new societies. Single immigrant/refugee group communities still exist and continue to be created. However, this form of organization has been joined by mutual assistance organizations, and pan-ethnic organizations. Additionally, many well-educated post - 1965 immigrants do not live in or near communities of their countrymen.

An understanding of the sociohistorical racially imposed boundaries to ethnic community organization and collective action in the United States is necessary for both newcomers and educators for effective community-based citizenship education. Even more important to the understanding of the phenomenon under study - citizen participation of newcomers - is the perspectives of today's immigrants and refugees and the citizenship service providers who serve them. The next chapter will outline a research methodology that will allow the collection and presentation of these voices.

Notes

[1] Smedley (1993) traced the origin and social history of the sociocultural construct of race, focusing particularly on the English in North America and the corresponding development of racial ideology in the United States. See Comeau (1996) for the historical background of race and ethnic relations within the American immigrant/refugee experience.

[2] The first major immigration period began in the late 1840s and lasted until the 1880s. The "first wave" was largely composed of Protestant western and northern Europeans. The 8 million immigrants who arrived between 1900 and 1910 , the second wave, were from southern and eastern Europe and many were Catholic and Jewish. The United States was not the sole destination of the huge numbers of turn-of-the-century migrants. See Archdeacon (1983) for comparison of immigration to the U.S. versus Canada, Brazil, Australia-New Zealand, and Argentina. Archdeacon noted that, out of these countries, the U.S. accepted the widest and most evenly balanced combination of ethnic groups. The United States is currently in the third and highest wave and again, the composition of arrivals, the majority from Latin American and Asian countries, differs from previous arrivals (Fix & Passel, 1994).

[3] Carlson (1987) traced the roots of the professionalizing of adult education back to the Americanization campaigns in the first two decades of the century.

[4] See McClymer (1982) for review of the role of the federal government in the Americanization Movement.

[5] For a discussion on industrial agendas in Americanization and an example of the Americanization program at the Ford Factory, see Meyer (1980).

[6] See Addams (1910/1960) for her account of the founding of Hull House in Chicago at the turn of the century.

[7] This was as opposed to "Scientific Americanizers" such as Frances Kellor who promoted a systematically planned and standardized educational campaign that extended across all of society's institutions, especially U.S. industry (Carlson, 1987).

[8] According to the Massachusetts Adult Literacy Resource Center, adult literacy education encompasses (a) English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL); (b) Adult Basic Education (ABE); and (c) Adult Secondary Education (ASE) including the General Educational Development (GED) and External (or Adult) Diploma Program (EDP or ADP). For more comprehensive definitions of each category see http://www2.wgbh.org/MBCWEIS/LTC/ALRI/A.L.R.I.FAQ.html (10/31/97).

[9] Paulo Freire authored twenty-five books translated into thirty-five languages. His best known work was Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1970). Other seminal texts include Education for Critical Consciousness (1973), Politics of Education (1985),

Pedagogy of Hope (1994). A final posthumous work co-authored with Donaldo Macedo, Ideology Matters, will be published in the spring of 1998.

[10] Popular education is centered around democratically structured cooperative study and action directed at personal and social transformation. Historical roots include the Danish and Scandinavian Folk school in Europe; the Populist Movement, Chautaugua Movement, and the Highlander Center in the United States; the Canadian Antigonish; and Freire's writings and work in empancipatory pedagogy, liberation theology, and literacy crusades in Latin America. See Vio Grossi (1984) and Acevedo (1992).

[11] The U. S. English Movement, founded by S. I. Hayakawa, today continues to assert that English monolingualism is necessary for national unity.

[12] See for example, Apple (1979, 1993, 1996); Beyer and Apple (1988); Giroux (1983, 1988); Giroux and McLaren (1989); Giroux, Penna and Pinar (1981); Giroux and Purpel (1983); Aronowitz and Giroux (1993); McLaren (1989, 1995); Lankshear and McLaren (1993); McLaren and Giarelli (1995) and Shor (1987, 1992).

[13] In the INS List of 100 questions on U.S. History and Government for the Naturalization Interview (as cited in Becker & Edwards, 1995), questions around voting include:

1. "In which month do we vote for the president?"
2. "In which month is the new president inaugurated?"
3. "How many times can a senator be reelected?"
4. "How many times may a congressman be reelected?"
5. "What are the two major parties in the U.S. today?"
6. "What is the most important right granted to U.S. citizens?"

[14]This holds true for INS citizenship exam. The INS List of 100 Questions on U.S. History and Government for the Naturalization Interview (as cited in Becker & Edwards, 1995), included the question "Who was Martin Luther King, Jr.?" as opposed to a question on basis of the social conflict at the heart of the Civil Rights Movement. The INS test focuses on knowing what amendments protect civil rights. The question "Name one amendment that guarantees or addresses voting rights " is asked. There are no questions regarding the actions taken to secure those rights for all Americans.

[15] Bride theft is a Hmong ritualized elopement/abduction of a bride. In Laos, the gender roles of single women include resisting of male suitor interest, by extension sexual interest. Scott (1988) listed motives of this tradition, not widely practiced even in Laos, as an alternative to parental or bridal opposition or lack of resources to pay bride prices. In the U.S., Hmong women who have adopted American ideas of gender equity see bride theft as kidnapping and rape. It is theorized that Hmong men have revived the tradition of bride theft because of refusal to accept Americanized gender roles which displace some of their authority.

[16] Conversely, downward occupational mobility, paternalistic resettlement systems, shared political concerns, and psychological distress caused by the refugee

experience can be strong motivating factors in the creation of ethnic solidarity and the formation of ethnic enclaves and organizations. See Light (1980) for a discussion on "reactive solidarity."

[17] Examples of special constituency groups include women's, senior citizen, fraternal, veterans, alumni, and professional groups.

[18] For documentation of historical and contemporary immigrant and refugee enclaves and economic-based solidarity, see Light (1972) comparing Chinese, Japanese and black communities; Bonacich and Modell(1980) on Japanese communities; Kim (1981) on Korean communities; and Portes and Bach (1985) on Cuban communities.

[19] A VOLAG is a private agency, religion-based organization, a state agency, or an ethnic organization funded by the federal government to provide refugee resettlement services. VOLAGs,which once aided arriving refugees with little or no federal funding began to receive reimbursement for resettling Indochinese refugees in 1975. VOLAGs share the goal of refugee resettlement leading to economic self-sufficiency and cultural adjustment; but vary in their affiliations, philosophies, procedures, clientele and structure. The American Council for Voluntary International Action (InterAction) is the umbrella organization of the VOLAGs. Hein (1993a) contended there are two different types of American voluntary agencies and each accords refugees with a "master status" that affects the refugees' initial adaptation to American society. Migration-oriented agencies identify refugees as international migrants from the third world. Welfare-oriented agencies identify refugees as welfare recipients. See Wright (1981) and Strand and Jones (1985) for policy and structure of refugee resettlement. See Haines (1985) for brief overview of U.S. resettlement effort. The annual Refugee Resettlement Program - Report to Congress includes resettlement agency reports.

[20] Some organizations have been established with the help or instigation of Americans with varying levels of success. See Van Arsdale (1989); Granville and Powell (1981); and Ledgerwood (1986).

[21] MAA staff serve as representatives of their community on public service and corporate boards and coalitions and councils.

[22] In earlier times in the U.S., Irish gained a foothold in politics by offering patronage-based material welfare services such as employment networks to their constituents within urban Irish enclaves in Boston, New York, and elsewhere. See Levine (1966).

[23] Since political independence from France in 1953-54, "Indochina" is no longer a political entity. The term "Indochinese" generalizes the political, economic and cultural autonomy of Vietnamese, Laotian, and Khmer populations. However, "Indochinese refugees" is a more useful designation than "Southeast Asian refugees." The latter term can encompass refugee populations other than Vietnamese, Laotian, and Khmer such as the Burmese and residents of Timor.

[24] SEAR stands for Southeast Asian refugee.

[25] There are great differences between Spanish-speaking newcomers from such origins as Central and South American nations, Mexico and Puerto Rico. However, there are also differences within national identities. Mexican-Americans, for example, can be descended from Spanish colonial elite, middle-class refugees of the revolution or *campesinos*, including the *mestizos*. They can be first or fourth generation American or documented or undocumented recent arrivals from urban or rural areas.

[26] See Chow (1989) for a discussion of the character of Asian American women's groups. There are particular cultural, psychological, and social challenges and benefits to Asian feminists organizing within their own ethnic communities, Asian communities, communities of color and the larger (predominantly white) feminist movement.

[27] Espiritu and Ong suggested Farley and Bianchi (1983) and Wilson (1978, 1987) for a discussion of the emergence of an underclass/privileged class split in the African American community.

[28] Prior to the Asian American movement, some Asians practiced "ethnic disidentification," distancing one's own group from other racial groups so as not to be mistaken and blamed for the perceived misconduct of that group. Times of high disidentification periods included periods affected by various exclusion acts and later during Japanese internment in World War II. See Espiritu (1992); Hayano (1981); and Daniels (1988).

[29] Espiritu and Ong (1994) offered an example of a 1990 public hearing on Asian American education at California State University at Fullerton. At this meeting Indochinese refugee community representatives argued that Indochinese should be placed into a separate category for special assistance in the higher education system. The rationale was that Indochinese refugees were the poorest group in the Asian American minority (p. 318). Vietnamese interviewed by Gold (1992) have described exploitative experiences with non-refugee Asian American employers and resettlement staff. However, he has also found that younger, American-educated Vietnamese activists believe forming coalitions with other Asian American groups to be beneficial.

[30] See Gee (1990), Heath (1983), Reder (1987), Street (1984), and Tannen (1982) for discussions on multiple literacies and their cultural contexts.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Anything that one person can do alone is not worth doing when you're dealing with social problems. If a problem is that small, then the goal is too limited.
(Horton, 1990, p. 147)

Research Design

In the spirit of the above quote, this research is a collaborative effort. This dissertation is a qualitative[1] exploratory study seeking to identify beliefs, attitudes, capacities and environment that affect newcomer citizen participation. Experiences in promoting citizen participation in the citizenship education classroom are also explored. The following research questions guide the research:

1. Who are today's newcomers in Massachusetts?

2. Who are the service providers offering citizenship education programs in Massachusetts?

3. How are citizenship education program directors, facilitators, and participants defining citizen participation?

4. What specific skills and knowledge base do these stakeholders believe to be necessary for citizen participation?

5. What are the opportunities and challenges to citizen participation that newcomers face?

6. How is "citizen participation" being promoted in citizenship education curricula?

The research strategies that were employed in this study include multisite case studies and historical and theoretical literature review. Research questions were co-developed with research participants in a pilot study. Data collection techniques included participant observation, interviewing, and document analysis. Data analysis identified critical categories and themes. These themes and categories were presented back to the research participants for validation and revision. Voices of CDEP citizenship project participants, facilitators, and directors are offered to ground the themes and categories. I offer my own analysis and program recommendations in the final chapter.

Research Setting

Massachusetts is considered a national leader in developing policy towards assisting the special needs of newcomers. Urban Institute researchers Zimmermann and Fix (1993) described Massachusetts' political culture as "activist and innovative" (p. 3). They wrote, "During the mid to late 1980s, Massachusetts had in place what were arguably the most pro-active and inclusive immigration policies in the nation" (p. 1). Massachusetts continues to be a national leader in developing policy for newcomers. In response to 1996-1997 federal welfare and immigration reform legislation, the state of Massachusetts approved the most extensive package of assistance in the nation for immigrants who had been cut from federal programs.

Office for Refugees and Immigrants

The Massachusetts Office of Refugee Resettlement was created in 1981 after the passage of the Refugee Act of 1980. In 1987, it was renamed the Office for Refugees and Immigrants (ORI) and expanded its focus to include immigrants.[2] In 1992, ORI attained the status of an independent agency of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The office is funded by the Federal Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR).

The 1996 mission statement of the Office for Refugees and Immigrants embraced (a) supporting the effective resettlement of refugees and immigrants in the

state; (b) promoting the full participation of these new Americans in the economic, civic, social, and cultural life of the Commonwealth; and (c) fostering a public environment that recognizes and supports the ethnic and cultural diversity of the state (Office for Refugees and Immigrants, 1997).

In 1996-1997, ORI operated programs including (a) the Massachusetts Refugee Resettlement program (MRRP), (b) the Citizenship and Democracy Education Project (CDEP), (c) a microenterprise training and loan program, (d) funding and technical assistance for Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs), (e) the Governor's New American Appreciation Awards Program, and (f) the Center for Immigrant and Refugee Community Leadership and Empowerment (CIRCLE).

Citizenship and Democracy Education Project

The Citizenship and Democracy Education Project (CDEP) was funded by the Office for Refugees and Immigrants (ORI) from July 1994 to December 1997. CDEP was a state-wide community-based citizenship education and service program. At the time of the research, 14 sites were funded. Each site used its own program model and served different communities of newcomers. Adult educators and volunteers from the community of the participants were facilitators. Classes were on-site, in libraries, homes, temples, and factories.

The two goals of the CDEP listed in the Request for Proposal (1994) were (a) to help people become naturalized, and (b) to educate them about the importance of active citizenship once citizenship status has been achieved. The unique component of CDEP that had made it a national model was that it required the sites it funded to include a citizen participation component in the citizenship education curricula. As written in the Request for Proposals (1994), the sites were required to:

> enhance current citizenship services in the state by emphasizing the benefits and importance of continuous and active citizen participation in community or civic activities. Thus while the Project will train individuals to complete the naturalization process, it will also provide education on voter registration, voting, participating in local institutions and organizations, influencing government decisions, as well as other

> activities that promote 'good citizenship' and revitalize the meaning of democracy at the grassroots level. (p. 2)

The purpose for promoting participation was expressed in the Request for Proposal as:

> ORI recognizes that the ability to participate fully in the life of the Commonwealth depends on several factors, one of which is achieving citizenship status, which allows for the most active democratic participation. ORI further recognizes that achieving other aspects of its mission is greatly enhanced by collaboration with clients who are empowered and able to advise on issues of service, programs, and advocacy. This project is based on the belief that U.S. citizenship is a critical step towards true community development and empowerment. (Office for Refugees and Immigrants, 1994, p. 4)

Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy Coalition

The Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy Coalition (MIRA) was the technical assistance provider funded under the CDEP project. MIRA provided updates on legislation affecting newcomer communities, and spearheaded advocacy activities with the assistance of community task forces. Other services offered included (a) training in naturalization areas such as filling out the N-400 Application for Naturalization, (b) maintaining a directory of citizenship providers and testing services, (c) convening meetings of citizenship programs across the state to share ideas and information, and (d) coordinating a citizenship task force.[3] MIRA also acted as liaison with the Boston INS office and answered naturalization inquiries of CDEP providers.

Sample

The 14 community-based organizations in the CDEP project were contacted and requested to participate in this research. Twelve organizations agreed to participate. Two organizations did not reply to my requests. One non-participating site, a community-organization serving the Spanish-speaking community, was similar in organizational structure and client population to a participating site. However, the other non-participating site was the only site in the proposed sample to serve predominantly African refugees. Therefore, the experiences of this population are missing from this research. Organizations participating in this study included (a) community schools, (b)

mutual assistance associations (MAAs), (c) community-based organizations, (d) refugee resettlement agencies (VOLAGs), (e) a university workplace education program, (f) a literacy volunteer program, and (g) an ethnic voters' league.

For the purposes of this study, the CDEP project was ideal in that there were a variety of settings, populations, and representations of the phenomena under examination, i.e., citizen participation and citizenship education programs. Each CDEP site was unique and varied both in the populations served and citizenship curricula. Because each site in the CDEP project was mandated to develop its own citizen participation component in their citizenship education curricula, there was a body of rich and varied data. An additional rationale for choosing to do research on the CDEP project was that entry was facilitated due to the fact that I was a volunteer teacher at one of the CDEP sites. Finally, the state of Massachusetts offered a diversity of newcomer populations and community-based organizations that allowed a wide variety of perspectives to be included in the research.

Negotiating Entry and Introductions

In introducing myself to the sponsor of the Citizenship Education and Democracy Project - the Office for Refugees and Immigrants - I stressed my recent work with their program - The Center for Immigrant and Refugee Community Leadership and Empowerment (CIRCLE). I also highlighted my previous employment in the ORI-funded Refugee Education and Employment Project (REEP). I used telephone calls and personal interviews with the CDEP Coordinator. A formal letter requesting permission to conduct research in CDEP was sent to the Director of the agency (see Appendix A) and copied to the CDEP Coordinator and her immediate supervisor.

I used a letter of introduction (see Appendix B), followed by a telephone call to the CDEP site directors at each site to explain my research and set up the first site visit. In introducing myself and my proposed project to the CDEP sites, I outlined my recent

work in the CIRCLE project, and my adult education and citizenship education teaching experience. Most sites were familiar with the CIRCLE project. I also stressed that I would be collecting stories and experiences and asking them to help me uncover themes and the realities shaping them.[4] I sensed that there was uneasiness about site "comparison."[5] In the pilot study, one facilitator whom I had not interviewed, and who therefore had not seen the consent form, asked me directly if I was a "supervisor" or "writing reports for ORI." I stressed I would not be "evaluating" or "judging" the programs, and that my research was completely independent and an academic project.

Confidentiality

The names of (a) the CDEP project, (b) its funder - the Office of Refugees and Immigrants, and (c) the technical assistance provider - Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy coalition are used. The names of the organizations and individuals in this research are not revealed (see Appendix C for Consent Form). Organizations are identified by their city or neighborhood location.[6] Directors and facilitators are identified as American-born or foreign country-born and by their site code. In cases where CDEP staff offer criticism of the funding organization, the sources are not identified by site. Participants are identified as male or female and by country of origin. Quotations are also included from the organizations' Response to the Request for Proposals, submitted to the Office for Refugees and Immigrants in 1994.[7] As with oral quotations, excerpts from these proposals are identified with location-based codes representing the organizations. The location-based codes used throughout the dissertation are (a) Boston, (b) Cambridge, (c) Chinatown, (d) Dorchester, (e) East Boston, (f) Fall River, (g) Fields Corner, (h) Lawrence, (i) Lowell, (j) New Bedford, (k) South Cove, and (l) Springfield.

Data Collection Methods/Instrumentation

Data collection methods included participant observation, interviews, and document analysis. Participant observation took place in a number of settings inside

and outside the site organizations. Interviews were conducted with all levels of stakeholders in the CDEP programs - participants, facilitators, directors, and funders. Documents analyzed ranged from in-house reports to mainstream media reports. A substantial literature survey was reviewed in Chapter 2 and also referenced throughout the dissertation.

Participant Observation

Patton (1990) wrote, "The challenge is to combine participation and observation so as to become capable of understanding the program as an insider while describing the program for outsiders" (p. 207). Participant observation took place in the newcomer citizenship education classrooms, the CDEP sites' organizations, cultural events of the communities of the participants, restaurants and markets in the participants' communities, CDEP staff meetings, CDEP state-wide meetings and training sessions, class registrations, and various "citizen participation" events (i.e., visits to State House, attending community speakouts). The purpose was to examine the phenomenon of citizen participation within a holistic perspective. The extent of participation in the observation varied according to each particular field situation and the responses of the participants. Research was conducted, as Wilson (1977) and other qualitative researchers recommended, in the participants' setting, context, and frame of reference.

Patton (1990) wrote that observational fieldwork allows the researcher to (a) better understand the context in which a program operates; (b) be open, discovery-oriented and inductive in their approach; (c) have opportunities to identify information that may not be in the conscious awareness of the participants; (d) learn about things the participants are unwilling to discuss in an interview setting; (e) have the chance to move beyond the selective perceptions of others; and (f) access the researcher's own personal knowledge and direct experience as resources in understanding and interpreting phenomenon under study. Observation was overt in the classroom, with all participants knowing observation was being made and my identity. In the organizations, the

observation was a mixture of overt and covert, with my role being known by some and not others. In the community and neighborhoods, my observation was covert. When possible I took written notes. In the neighborhoods of the participants I often took oral notes. For example, I would read the contents of bulletin boards or other environmental print into a mini taperecorder. Observations were typed into formal field notes the same or following day.

Interviews[8]

Three approaches, as suggested by Patton (1990), were used in open-ended interviews:

1. A general interview guide approach was used with participants in a sampling of citizenship classes.

2. A standardized open-ended interview was used with all CDEP site directors and at least one facilitator at each site, and a sample of naturalized citizens.

3. Informal conversational interviews were conducted with a variety of stakeholders in a variety of settings (over lunch with facilitators, in an elevator with participants after a class or at a registration, at the Xerox machine with an agency staff member, etc.). When possible, interviews were taped recorded or notes taken depending on the situation. Transcripts were written up at a later time.

Document Analysis

A literature review was conducted based at the W.E.B. DuBois Library at the University of Massachusetts and the Office for Refugees and Immigrants (ORI) Library. At the University of Massachusetts, literature from the fields of education, political science, ethnic studies, history and American studies, critical theory/pedagogy, and sociology were obtained from the library collection, interlibrary loan system, and computer databases including ERIC, Sociofile, Lexis/Nexis, and Dissertation Abstracts. The Government Documents Collection was also utilized for documents pertaining to state and federal immigration and naturalization policy. At the ORI library, citizenship

curricula, Massachusetts and federal immigration policy documents, and newcomer demographic data were obtained.

Figure 3.1 is a sample of additional kinds of documents reviewed. These categories are not exclusive. Documents may have provided information for more than one category.

A. Analysis of CDEP site citizenship programs

1. ORI Citizenship and Democracy and Education Project RFP
2. Site funding proposals
3. ORI newsletters
4. Site Quarterly Reports
5. CDEP site files (filed in ORI library)

B. Analysis of CDEP participant populations

1. Intake and tracking forms
2. Brochures and flyers in reception rooms
3. Local ethnic language newspapers
4. Community bulletin boards and other environmental print
5. Newspaper articles

C. Analysis of curricula

1. Site curricula or class syllabi
2. MIRA training materials
3. Citizenship curriculums/textbooks from other programs across the nation

D. Analysis of participation activities

1. CDEP site quarterly reports
2. Newspaper articles
3. Participant writing (example, letters to legislature, petitions)

E. Analysis of political climate

1. Newspaper, journal articles and books on welfare reform, citizenship and other related topics
2. MIRA newsletters
3. INS published documents, statistics
4. Internet mailing lists [i.e., National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (nnirr-news@nnirr.org); Asian Pacific eXchange News Network - APXNN (apx@free.mrc.net)]

Figure 3.1 Categories of Documents Reviewed for Dissertation Research

Whenever possible, I Xeroxed materials. If not possible, I took notes or orally read into a mini taperecorder. For example, some sites allowed me to read quarterly reports, but not Xerox them.

The Springfield CDEP site invited me to be the judge of an essay contest for the their program's spring 1997 semester. The subject of the essay was "Why I want to become a U.S. citizen." These documents provided some data on motivations of participants. However, the format of the data collection - required essays to be submitted to the program and unknown reviewer while the participants are waiting for their INS test and interview - was not expected to be a context in which honest and critical reflections would necessarily emerge.

Data Analysis

The qualitative analysis and theory development software, HyperQual2 Version 1.2 (Padilla, 1993), was used for coding the data for the purpose of developing themes and explanations. Both the quality and quantity of the data collected varied. At the organizations, some sites had comprehensive written curriculums while others planned week by week. Site directors varied in their length of time in the position, with accompanying limitations in institutional memory. In working in the classroom with participants, facilitators varied in the amount of classroom time they allotted me to lead group discussions. Because of these limitations, the data in this study is not presented site-by-site. Data will be identified by the source; for example, "a middle-aged female participant from the former Soviet Union," under related themes identified by the researcher.

Marshall and Rossman (1995) differentiated between five modes of analytic procedure:

1. When organizing the data I originally moved from raw data collected under site names to division by research question.

2. Generating categories, themes and patterns was in a state of constant evolution during the data collection and analysis period. Chapters 5 and 6 present the final categories developed.

3. In testing the emergent hypotheses against the data, I used the data collected to explore causal relationships.

4. In searching for alternative explanations of the data, I looked for factors other than the current political projects, such as welfare/immigration reform and previous sociopolitical socialization, to explain participant population compositions, definitions and activity in spheres of citizen participation.

5. When writing the report, I endeavored to present the voices/anecdotes of the stakeholders under themes that emerged in the research. Additionally, in the final chapter, I offered some rationale for using critical pedagogies in the citizenship education context and suggestions for program development.

Reliability and Validity Issues

In the spirit of defending the value, logic, and trustworthiness of the research, I will address the three types of validity and one reliability criterion that Yin (1989) suggested for case studies. In this research, reliability was sought through triangulation of data collection on both the macro level of data methods - participant observation, interviews and document analysis - and the micro level within methods. Participant observation took place in a number of settings with a variety of levels of participation. Interviews were conducted with multiple informants from different positions within the program. Document analysis included program documents, funder documents, outside media, and other sources. Where at one site an interview might yield little hard data (for example, a recent turnover in CDEP site directorship), documents such as newsletters and quarterly reports provided more information on previous activities in the program.

External validity was addressed by using field sites that covered a broad spectrum of both participant populations and citizenship service provider sites. The combination of data types collected around the same themes increases the likelihood of internal validity. Construct validity was addressed by using a pilot study to refine research questions and categories. The categories named in the discussion of citizen participation definitions, skills, and contexts (Chapter 5) and challenges and opportunities (Chapter 6) were presented back to the research participants at a state-wide CDEP meeting in June of 1997. Additional feedback was also collected through telephone and e-mail conversations and in classroom discussions with my own students. The revisions made are the final version in this document.

Previous Research, Researcher Competence, and Credibility

Prior to undertaking this research, I spent the last 2 1/2 years doing participatory action research with Massachusetts refugee/immigrant communities. Research conducted as a staff member at the Center for Refugee and Immigrant Community Leadership and Empowerment (CIRCLE)[9] revolved around defining culturally bound concepts of leadership, empowerment, and participation (Ahmed, Dolma, Gurung, Comeau, Rocha, & Zuluaga, 1990). Definitions were used to shape community educational initiatives and facilitate sociopolitical advocacy. The CIRCLE activities in which I participated included technical assistance for Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs) organizational development, bilingual citizenship and ESOL programs, community service university courses, and community speak-outs.

My introduction to the CDEP project came about when I, along with my Vietnamese colleagues, volunteered at the ORI-sponsored Citizenship Day in Springfield in April of 1996. More than 200 newcomers received help processing their naturalization applications. The following summer, the Vietnamese community volunteers I worked with collaborated with the Citizenship Democracy and Education Project to create the first bilingual Vietnamese citizenship class in Western

Massachusetts. I co-taught this class with a Vietnamese volunteer and provided the technical training sponsored by CIRCLE. In the classroom, the participants explored their motivations for applying to become American citizens. The people who gave their reason as wanting to become "true" or "good" "Americans" were outnumbered by those who didn't want to lose their SSI benefits due to welfare reform. Many Vietnamese who were not registered for the class came to the church where the classes were held to ask the facilitators for clarification on the relationship between citizenship and welfare reform. During this period in which welfare reform was being debated, voted on, and finally passed in the House and Senate, misinformation and misunderstanding were rampant. Many community/ethnic organizations, social service providers, and education and advocacy organizations (CIRCLE included) were organizing information sessions and protests.

The Vietnamese group, as their citizenship class participation requirement, organized a "Community Speak-Out" that involved Springfield citizenship classes, literacy classes, and representatives of ethnic organizations. Legislators and city officials were invited to come and listen to the concerns of the people and dialogue around action plans. Over 200 people attended as well as the mainstream and ethnic media (television and newspaper reporters). The outstanding issues of the event were the related challenges of welfare reform and citizenship. This previous immersion as well as informal interviews with other citizenship program participants, facilitators, and CDEP site directors shaped the initial research agenda of studying participation and newcomer citizenship education.

Finally, as an adult educator, I have worked in a number of the communities in which I did the field research. I have taught ESOL to elderly Chinese immigrants in Chinatown, I have taught vocational English to Southeast Asians and Russian-speakers in Lawrence, Massachusetts. I have taught citizenship, health ESOL and done newcomer community development work in Springfield. I have done immigration

research in the mill towns of Lowell and Lawrence. I grew up in the Merrimack Valley. When I visited CDEP sites in these areas, I felt like I was going home.

Role, Positionality, and Subjectivity of the Researcher

Myles Horton (1990) wrote:

> Any educational philosophy comes out of what you do and how you deal with people. When you believe in people and in the importance of trying to create a democracy, you must turn these beliefs into practice, and if you don't believe in the free enterprise system and individual competitiveness, you practice group action and cooperation. You practice learning in groups so that people can learn to solve problems through group action. (p. 175)

Researchers have often been called on to maintain a "neutral" stance (Gans, 1968) and to avoid too much overinvolvement or "overrapport" (Miller, 1952). On the opposite end of the spectrum, other researchers hold that subjectivity is not only inevitable, but that researchers must be aware of how their subjectivity shapes the entire research process and outcome. Peshkin (1988) wrote, "Researchers should systematically seek out their subjectivity, not retrospectively when the data have been collected and the analysis is complete, but while their research is actively in progress" (p. 17).

In one educational fieldwork project, Peshkin conducted what he called a "subjectivity audit." He identified six I's that emerged under the particular circumstances of that field setting, including (a) the Ethnic-Maintenance I, (b) the Community-Maintenance I, (c) the E-Pluribus-Unum I, (d) the Justice-Seeking I, (e) the Pedagogical-Meliorist I, and (f) the Nonresearch Human I. Peshkin noted that different subsets would emerge according to the researcher's field context.

My research was a conscious effort to meld the traditional individualism of academic research with the collectivism that is the basis of sociopolitical activism. My subjectivity is apparent in that I choose to do fieldwork in an educational setting that is intertwined with a social justice movement. I had been involved in sociopolitical activism for newcomer rights for ten years before approaching these issues as a researcher writing a dissertation. During my last 2 1/2 years working in the Center for

Immigrant and Refugee Community Leadership and Empowerment (CIRCLE), I was immersed in facilitating newcomer group lobbying efforts against the parts of immigration and welfare reform that adversely affect these populations. The original theme for my dissertation research emerged while I was teaching citizenship education in the fall of 1996.

For the research period of January 1997 to November 1997, I was not employed by any organization involved with newcomers (including the state organization, service providers, and community/ethnic organizations). I did continue volunteer teaching citizenship for the Springfield CDEP site. During this period I also participated in, observed, recorded, and reflected[10] on various political activities sponsored by citizenship education classes, and newcomer advocacy organizations such as the Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy Coalition (MIRA).

In visiting field sites in the new role of "researcher", I experienced what Thorne (1983) noted:

> Some of the difficulties I experienced as an observer stemmed from the rules for experience and knowing which are basic to highly partisan social movements: demand for complete involvement based on a totalizing world view; a sense of crisis and apocalypse; and emphasis on collectivity and control by the group. (p. 226)

However, having experienced this ethos and the ideology that informs it in my previous work gave me an advantage in the process of negotiating access and information flow. An example of a common tenet in many ethnic and community-based organizations is "talk is cheap." A person is judged by her actions. Time and resources are limited. One challenge for me was to negotiate with the participants and convince them that the research would be of use to them and their community.

As a native-born American of European ancestry, I can never fully walk in the shoes of a refugee or immigrant. But I can try to live and work in solidarity with newcomers to the United States as well as the many other oppressed groups throughout

the world. I hope this research can be a small contribution to both theory and practice in the area of empowerment-based citizenship education for newcomers.

Pilot Study

The process of doing a pilot study can be compared to manipulating a Rubic's Cube. Interview questions were formed, tested, and reformed until matches were found. Participant observation and talking with future research participants helped to make my questions more culturally (ethnically and organizationally) appropriate. It also gave me some guidelines for rules of behavior for continued research in the settings.

Initial Data Collection

After receiving permission to use the CDEP project as my case study, I visited half of the CDEP sites to test my draft interview guide with the CDEP site directors, facilitators, and participants. I also began to attend citizenship classes at various sites to test the waters on how participants and facilitators would react to my not only coming to their classes, but also asking participants questions. I conducted 5 interviews with site directors, 3 interviews with facilitators, asked group interview questions of 30 participants, attended a registration of 300 citizenship class participants, attended a staff meeting for class placements, and held numerous informal conversations with other CDEP site staff, participants, and facilitators. I also attended the first of many state-wide meeting of CDEP providers which included a briefing from INS. I met regularly with the CDEP Coordinator at ORI and the CDEP Training Coordinator at MIRA. I also began initial ethnographic research on the 6 communities' neighborhoods I visited.

Preliminary analysis included reviewing the ORI Citizenship and Democracy and Education Project RFP; ORI newsletters; MIRA newsletters; a number of site curricula or class syllabi; intake and tracking forms; newspaper, journal articles and books on welfare reform, citizenship and other related topics; INS naturalization documents; and citizenship curricula/textbooks from other programs across the nation. At the 6 sites I visited, I collected brochures and flyers in reception rooms, collected

local ethnic language newspapers, and reviewed community bulletin boards and other environmental print.

Question Formation Evolution

One of the most important issues that emerged out of the pilot study was around language. When I started out in the pilot project with the question "How do you define citizen participation?", some participants and facilitators did not understand the term "citizen participation." I worked with facilitators to come up with a number of alternative phrasings for the questions. Some that worked included - "What does an active citizen do?"; or the more personal - "Who is your community?"; "What do you do in your community?"; or "What does a good community member do?". For class group discussions, it was often helpful to ask the class to identify social or political problems in their community and what they do toward resolving those specific problems. I also used comparative exercises to examine participants' concepts of community in their native country and the U.S. We explored what they did as members of those communities and why.

Another recognition was that the staff at the sites want to know the answers not only to the definitions I was exploring, but also want more ideas on how to incorporate those definitions into teaching methods that work. All of the sites were overwhelmed with the increasing numbers of participants, the changing composition of the participants, and no corresponding increase in resources. From this initial exploration came the research questions on how citizen participation was being promoted through the citizenship curricula.

Reciprocity

In searching for a way to give back to the communities who shared their knowledge with me, I focused on the interest expressed in learning within and between sites about translating definitions of citizen participation into the CDEP curricula. I am developing a booklet sharing some citizen participation stories, themes, skills,

opportunities, and challenges identified and their curricular components from various sites. It will be distributed to all CDEP sites.

Additionally, in the pilot study, I found that my knowledge base of the CDEP sites' various program models as well as information I had on other agencies, schools, and other resources, was sometimes drawn upon by interviewees. For example, on one site visit I learned that the Lowell site had an elderly population that was qualified to take the citizenship test in their native language.[11] However, the organization did not have the resources to offer the test in Khmer themselves. I referred the CDEP director to an independent ESOL program, where the citizenship counselor had been administering the Khmer test to elderly Cambodians in another town. When another site mentioned they were having difficulty in recruiting citizenship and ESOL teachers, I was able to refer the director to a university bilingual/ESOL graduate studies program. Many community organizations recruited volunteer teachers, who needed practica, from this department. I also did some consulting and a presentation to a high school community service program that was in the process of developing a relationship with one of the CDEP sites.

Emergent Themes

I had originally imagined including cross-ethnic group comparisons. As the research progressed, considerable breadth of differences - class, gender, generation, and condition of migration within and between ethnic groups emerged. I discovered that such a presentation would risk broad generalizations and subsume some voices under others. The pilot study and question formation period also determined that research participants were more comfortable discussing the essence of citizen participation - what citizen participation was to them and what was necessary to be an active citizen. The resulting structure of the findings, beginning in Chapter 5, will use the categories of definitions, enabling skills, and contexts for citizen participation. In Chapter 6,

opportunities and challenges in citizen participation for newcomer and their communities will be identified.

Limitations of the Study

This study examined how definitions of citizen participation translated into classroom curricula. Tracking future articulations of citizen participation in the lives of the new citizens is an important longitudinal research need which was beyond the scope of this work.

Much of the theoretical and historical material included as support for this research comes from the Asian American studies literature. This bias is due to the researcher's previous work and research on the Southeast Asian refugee experience and Asian American immigration history. I found existing data on immigrant citizenship orientations limited. As Harles (1993) suggested, political attitudes of newcomers are not well measured with surveys and opinion polls. Using sources similar to Harles - examination of immigration history, behavior of immigrants in the U.S., and immigrants own words - I found a range of experiences and beliefs within and across ethnic groups.

Due to site-specific factors such as site staff turnover and variations in record-keeping; the quality and quantity of data gathered varied by site. As an outside observer to these programs and participant communities, program staff and participants may have behaved or provided information to me in some atypical fashion. Additionally, my analysis as the researcher may have distorted the data. As mentioned previously, in the case of participant motivations for attaining citizenship, responses might have been geared to how the participants thought they should be responding. The amount of time spent in the field, and therefore the data collected, was also limited. This research is by nature a snapshot in time. Examining the research questions in the period prior to recent anti-immigrant political projects or in the future, would surely yield different results.

Before sharing the voices of newcomers and citizenship service providers discussing citizen participation, the research context needs to be reviewed. The next chapter will survey immigrant and refugee populations in Massachusetts. It also will provide brief profiles of the neighborhoods in which these newcomers live. The case study sites will be introduced, along with their organizational contexts and the structure of their citizenship programs. The chapter will conclude with a discussion on motivations for naturalization or working/volunteering in the field of citizenship education.

Notes

[1] Qualitative inquiry is found across a broad range of academic disciplines, fields, and traditions. For the purposes of this study, Denzin and Lincoln's (1994) definition is offered:

> Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomenon in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves a variety of empirical materials - case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interaction, and visual texts - that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives. Accordingly, qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of interconnected methods, hoping always to get a better fix on the subject at hand. (p. 2)

[2] Background information on the establishment of ORI, its mission, and populations served can be obtained from ORI-published documents including: 1997 Demographic Update: Refugees and Immigrants in Massachusetts (1997), and Through the Golden Door: Impacts of Non-Citizen Residents on the Commonwealth (1990).

[3] The goal of the Citizenship/Benefits Task Force was to provide a forum where citizenship providers and key officials from government agencies such as INS and the Social Security Administration could collectively respond to the challenges confronting providers as a result of legal immigrants' loss of federal benefits and corresponding increase in naturalization applications.

[4] This dialogue and reflection without action will be a departure from my accustomed role of a critical educator who practices participatory research and education (Auerbach, 1992; Auerbach, Barahona, Midy, Vaquerano, Zambrano & Arnaud 1996; Fals Borda & Rahman, 1991; Hall, Gillette & Tandon, 1982; Maguire, 1987; Park, Brydon-Miller & Jackson, 1993) in working with adult newcomer communities. In this artificial dissertation research, I have not been invited in by the people and attempting to come in and start problematizing and trying to play the role of the change agent would have been an arrogant imposition.

[5] Each site was free to choose to participate in the research project. However, the fact that ORI, the funder, not only approved/authorized my research project, but also called sites to introduce me and the project might have influenced both the decision to participate and the information/access shared with me.

[6] Each city or neighborhood used here as a code is home to a number of other community-based organizations and/or non-related citizenship services.

[7] These proposals were publicly available as part of the Freedom of Information Act. Under the Administrative and Contract Information section of the RFP is written: "All proposals are subject to Massachusetts General Laws, Chap. 4, Section 7 and

Chapter 66, Section 10. Upon award of the contract for services, proposals submitted to ORI will be considered public documents" (p. 25).

[8] See Appendix D for sample interview questions.

[9] CIRCLE is a statewide leadership program that offers refugees and immigrants in Massachusetts an individualized multi-faceted academic program with hands-on experience to strengthen their leadership skills.

[10] In this research I reflected not only on how the other participants' beliefs translate into action, but my own positionality in my writing. I was especially vigilant of what Peshkin (1985) called "differential generosity."

[11] According to INS regulations, if an applicant for naturalization is more than 50 years of age and has been a lawful permanent resident for twenty years or more, or 55 years old and has been a lawful permanent resident for 15 years or more, they are exempt from the English language requirement and may take the examination in any language.

CHAPTER 4

PARTICIPANT AND SITE INTRODUCTIONS

Democracy must begin at home,
and its home is the neighborly community.
(Dewey, 1927, p. 213)

Introduction

This chapter is a brief introduction to Massachusetts newcomers, their communities, and the citizenship providers serving them. The first section provides a brief overview of immigration statuses and a look at newcomer populations in Massachusetts. The second section introduces the organizational context characteristics of the 12 CDEP sites that participated in this study. Also included in this section is information about target populations and neighborhoods. Unique components in particular CDEP programs are identified. Because of the number of sites used as cases in this research, comprehensive descriptions of programs are not offered. The final section explores reflections on motivation of various CDEP stakeholders. Participants reflected on why they wanted to become U.S. citizens. Facilitators and directors reflected on why they work with the CDEP citizenship project. The background information provided in this chapter is a necessary preface to the data presented in the next two chapters. Stakeholders' definitions of citizen participation and the barriers and opportunities to active citizenship can then be placed in the context of their lives and realities.

Immigration and Naturalization Status of Participants

Like Argentina, Australia, and Canada, the United States is a nation of immigrants. Immigration law has shaped and continues to shape the composition of the American population. It determines who we shall or shall not welcome. For those

admitted, there are a number of immigration statuses under which they might be categorized. Refugees are generally considered to have had experiences such as political oppression, violence, inability to return to homeland, and unprepared flight. Immigrants are traditionally considered economic migrants. In reality, many immigrants have experienced oppression and traumatic uprooting as well, but have not been classified as "refugees" by the United States for geopolitical reasons. Unlike the category of "immigrant," the category of "refugee" is "a political status, validated by an explicit decision of the U.S. government" (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, p. 26). Zucker and Zucker (1987, 1989) described the political nature of American refugee policy as a competitive coalition of foreign policy, interest groups, and resettlement costs. Of refugee policy, Zucker and Zucker (1987) wrote, "Knowing why refugees are admitted will inevitably reveal who will be admitted. For refugee policy does not in fact serve refugees; rather, it designates as refugees those who serve the policy" (p. xvi).

The Federal Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 defined an "alien" as a person who is not a citizen or national of the United States. The alien category is divided into "immigrants," aliens who have been lawfully admitted for permanent residence; and "non-immigrants," aliens who have been admitted for a temporary stay for a specific purpose. In addition there are a number of legal aliens with transitional or temporary status. Undocumented migrants or those who have overstayed their non-immigrant visas without permission are often called "illegal aliens."

Refugees and immigrants differ in services for which they are eligible. Since 1975, refugee legislation[1] has established and institutionalized procedures for providing refugees with social services, including language and job training, placement and counseling programs, and professional retraining and recertification. Special educational projects are available for refugee children in schools. Refugees also are subject to less restrictive public aid eligibility criteria than immigrants. The 1980 Refugee Act married the welfare state and refugee resettlement by institutionalizing

"comprehensive and uniform provisions for the effective resettlement and absorption of those refugees who are admitted" [Section 101(b)]. Non-refugee aliens are generally not eligible for such comprehensive services.

Both the percentage of newcomers becoming naturalized and length of time in obtaining citizenship vary significantly across and within immigrant groups. In a 10-year study, Portes and Mozo (1985) examined the joint effects of educational levels, geographical proximity, and political origin of migration differences in naturalization rates. Holding other factors constant, they found that each additional year of education increased a group's rate of naturalization by about 1.5%. Migration from Mexico[2] or Canada reduced a group's rate by 21%; and political refugee status increased naturalizations by about 13% (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). Of refugee communities, Portes and Rumbaut (1990) wrote:

> Although the outward ideology of refugee communities may continue to uphold the hope of return, actual reality carries greater weight. The fact that most sanctioned refugee groups today share strong identification with American political values may also facilitate naturalization. Cubans during the 1970s and the Vietnamese during the 1980s provide examples. (p. 134)

Newcomers in Massachusetts

The first newcomers to the area now known as Massachusetts were the Puritans seeking freedom from religious and political persecution. However, they did not extend tolerance for other migrants. Seven years after their arrival in 1630, the leaders of this Massachusetts Bay Colony enacted immigration restriction against those who held opposing religious beliefs.

According to the Office for Refugees and Immigrants publication, 1997 Demographic Update,[3] Massachusetts today ranks eighth as a destination for refugees and seventh for immigrants. In comparison, Massachusetts is ranked 13th[4] in overall population size in the U.S. In Massachusetts, 1 of 10 residents is foreign-born. In 1990, Massachusetts had an overall population of 6,016,425. It's foreign-born population was

573,731. The projected total and foreign-born population figures for 1995 were 6,133,000 and 583,000, respectively. Table 2.1 on this page offers the most recent population figures for selected Massachusetts newcomer communities.

In the past decade, most refugees coming to Massachusetts have come from Southeast Asia or the former Soviet Union. However, both groups will soon no longer be admitted as refugees. Refugees from Liberia, Iran, Sudan, Ethiopia, Iraq, Haiti, and Somalia have increased in modest numbers in the 1990s. In the future, ORI predicts that refugee resettlement will be characterized by more countries of origin and smaller numbers from each country (Office for Refugees and Immigrants, 1997).

Table 2.1

Estimated Population of Selected Newcomer Groups in Massachusetts

Newcomer Group	1995 Population Estimate
Bosnians	200
Central Americans[5]	75,000-80,000
Chinese[6]	53,800
Citizens of the Former Soviet Union	21,000
Dominicans	30,250
Ethiopians and Eritreans	9,500-11,500
Haitians	50,000-65,000
Indochinese[7]	72,400
Portuguese Speakers[8]	800,000
Somalis[9]	800-1,200

Note. Adapted from "Refugees and Immigrants in Massachusetts 1995: An Overview of Selected Communities," by The Massachusetts Department of Public Health, Bureau of Family and Community Health, Office of Refugee and Immigrant Health, 1995.

ORI analysis of INS statistics identified Portuguese, Vietnamese, and Chinese as the three largest groups being naturalized in 1994. ORI found newcomers are becoming citizens as soon as they can; the average applicant for naturalization attending ORI-sponsored citizenship preparation workshops had been in the United States for 6 years. ORI estimated almost 50% of Massachusetts' foreign-born population has been naturalized. The number of naturalizations in Massachusetts more than doubled from 6,574 to 14,589 between 1993 to 1994.

Introduction to CDEP Sites

While each CDEP site offered distinctive traits, there were a number of concurrences that could be identified. All programs conducted language assessment as part of their citizenship program intake and placement. All sites' citizenship education curricula covered four areas of citizenship including (a) procedures for becoming a U.S. citizen,[10] (b) U.S. history, (c) U.S. government, and (d) citizen participation. All included the use of mock interviews and practice written exams. Classes were typically offered on a weekly basis and averaged from 24 to 36 classroom hours in a cycle. This time also included instruction in filling out the naturalization application (N-400) forms. When "Mass Processings" or "Citizenship Days"[11] were available, classroom time was freed from dealing with this paperwork. Each site additionally provided various supporting counseling services during non-class hours.

All sites had a high percentage of participants with low formal education levels. Most sites agreed that the higher the education level of newcomers was, the less likely those newcomers were to attend classes. In the CDEP project, directors identified education level as a factor in class composition. In New Bedford, which has a well-established Portuguese community, an American-born facilitator reported:

> Most high level students went through the process earlier and now we are digging for students. We have an excellent recruiter, a Portuguese woman at ---. Now we have brothers and sisters and relatives of former students coming to classes.

In Cambridge, the Salvadoran-born director agreed that education level is a factor in class composition, "Most of our students have between a fourth to seventh grade education. If higher than that, they study at home."

All sites recruited participants using the local ethnic media (newspapers, radio, television programs), and leafleting in native languages and English at ethnic businesses, temples, and churches. All sites also had in place a system of referrals with local social service agencies. All sites had extensive networks with other community, governmental, and non-governmental agencies and participated in numerous coalitions and cooperative advocacy campaigns. Also, as the CDEP programs became more established, more "graduates" advertised the programs by word-of-mouth.

All programs invited local/state officials and representatives, civic leaders, and community organizers to present lectures or participate in discussions on aspects of civic participation. A number of programs frequently used field trips. The use of mainstream or ethnic media newspapers for current events discussion was common. These news sources were also useful for identifying areas around which to organize class participation projects.

All sites included follow-up interaction with former participants, tracking their naturalization steps, confirming voter registration, inviting former participants to local civic functions, and advocacy activities based at the host organizations. Many sites encouraged CDEP participants to continue their adult education in other programs (such as ESOL) in the agency after completing the naturalization process. Many programs used advisory committees made up of current and former CDEP program participants to develop the core curriculum and conduct informal formative and summative evaluations. Participant feedback was also collected in class after each cycle.

Boston

The Boston site was a VOLAG which had been serving refugees for over 56 years. The majority of participants in the CDEP program were Jewish refugees from

the former Soviet Union who had been resettled through the agency in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Organizational Context. The agency was established in 1938 to serve the language and employment-related needs of refugees fleeing from Nazi Germany who settled in the Greater Boston area.[12] The agency served refugees from the former Soviet Union, Iran, Southeast Asia, Somalia, Bosnia, Ethiopia, Haiti, China, and a number of countries where Spanish and Portuguese is spoken. The Boston site had divisions of employment-related services, adult education, skills training, and a micro-enterprise training and loan program. Most of the citizenship class participants had been resettled by the agency or had used the organization's services in previous years.

Target Population and Area. The first contemporary wave of immigration of Russian Jews from the former Soviet Union began in 1972. Between 1982 and 1985, very few Jews were allowed to leave. Pressure from the U.S. government, Israel, and a grassroots effort of the American Jewish community led to dramatic increases in the late 1980s . The second wave of refugees began arriving in the late 1980s as the Soviet Union lifted travel restrictions on persons persecuted for religious beliefs. Some in this group were "refuseniks"- persons who were fired from their jobs, barred from their professions, harassed and persecuted by the government and often neighbors, for applying for exit visas. They were required to leave their passports behind and give up their citizenship. Today, family reunification has created three-generation extended families in Boston and other parts of the state. While the community is considered an upwardly mobile socioeconomic group, there is a high percentage of elderly who have less English language ability.

Characteristics of CDEP Program. Classes were held at the agency, located in downtown Boston. When guest speakers such as immigration lawyers or former legislators visited, the CDEP director (also the class facilitator) asked the visitors to step out of their "role" of lawyer or politician. They were asked to just be "John Q. Citizen"

and talk about what they do in their communities. The director shared one story of a speaker who talked about being a dog owner who thought that the leash law was too strict. She believed there should be a period of time in the day when dogs could be let off their leashes. The speaker talked about the steps she took to identify and get together with other dog owners, write a petition, and present it to the Town Board of Selectmen. The visitor said the petition was turned down, but that the group would try again. According to the American-born director, "It was a great example of community participation. A silly one, but one that was important to someone."

Current students "tracked," via phone calls, previous students. They documented steps completed by previous participants. They also confirmed that after the swearing-in ceremony each new citizen had registered to vote.

Cambridge

The CDEP site in Cambridge was a non-profit human service agency. The organization primarily served the local Spanish-speaking immigrant and refugee population.

Organizational Context. The mission of this organization for the last 25 years was to assist linguistic minority and refugee communities acquire the tools needed to achieve their maximum social and economic potential. Principles found in the mission statement included multicultural competency, a holistic service approach, an emphasis on promoting interagency linkages, and an emphasis on empowerment. The various programs offered included interpreter and referral service, drop-out prevention, adult education, health education and intervention programs for mentally challenged, treatment for substance abuse, protective services for children, support programs for Latino youth and young parents, and refugee counseling. Among critical issues the agency targeted was lack of effective community participation in public affairs and community advocacy. Prior to offering the CDEP program, the agency had offered specialized immigration services including basic adult literacy education in a State

Legalization Impact Assistance Grants program (SLIAG);[13] and an outreach and counseling initiative for Salvadorans eligible for Temporary Protective Status.[14] The agency was located in a building that also housed a neighborhood health clinic, a WIC[15] office, and other social service agencies.

Target Population and Area. While Cambridge is best known as home to Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, it is also home to many newcomers. The organization served Latino, Haitian, and Portuguese immigrants living in Cambridge and Somerville. Latino immigrants include Mexicans and Cubans as well as the Central Americans who fled death squads, persecution, and economic ruin caused by U.S.-sponsored war in the 1980s. Portuguese-speaking immigrants are considered to be the second largest newcomer group in the two neighborhood area. Included in this categorization are the longer-settled Portuguese speakers from the Azores and the more recent Cape Verdeans and Brazilians. Many Haitians are undocumented and many of the recent arrivals have low literacy levels in both English and *Kreyol* and few marketable skills.

Characteristics of CDEP Program. Citizenship classes were taught by bilingual/bicultural volunteers who were local residents and naturalized citizens. Classes were held at the agency and also at sites selected for their community recognition and accessibility, such as churches in the neighborhoods of the participants. Tutoring was also available. The participants in citizenship classes were offered a variety of health, family, educational, and legal support services available at the agency and other collaborating organizations.

Guest speakers were local advocates, business persons, and political leaders from the newcomer communities. In their dialogue around active citizenship with the participants, the guests described their own immigration and naturalization experiences and their current community activities. Speakers were also available to the participants outside the classroom to offer guidance in their respective areas of expertise. Field trips

introduced participants to local, state, or federal governmental institutions and staff. Participants visited city council meetings and the State House. The goal of these trips was to break down barriers of anxiety, deference, and alienation.

Chinatown

The CDEP program in Chinatown was based at a workers' progressive association. The organization was founded by a volunteer corps of longtime Chinese ancestry residents, immigrant workers and parents and second-generation youth.

Organizational Context. The mission of the organization, founded in 1977, was to educate the Chinese community for full equality and empowerment. The organization's activities sought to improve the living and working conditions of Chinese Americans and to involve this constituency in making decisions that affect their lives. It offered a Worker's Center, ESOL classes, drop-in services and advocacy on an individual and group basis, and a Chinese Youth Initiative. It was the first organization to offer citizenship classes in Chinatown, and had done so continuously since its founding. Community campaigns the organization had advocated for included education reform, redevelopment issues, worker rights, immigrant rights, and economic development issues. Before becoming a CDEP site, the agency had already developed a bilingual citizenship and voter awareness curriculum with supporting audio-visual materials.

Target Population and Area. Chinese migrants first came to Massachusetts as merchants and seamen in the 19th century. In the late 1800s they came to Massachusetts as industrial laborers and strike breakers.[16] After the 1965 Immigration Act repealed restrictive Asian quotas, laborers were able to bring their families to the U.S. Today, Massachusetts is home to a variety of Chinese-speaking newcomers. There are undocumented immigrants from Fukien providence of PRC and Chinese university students who have stayed in Massachusetts due to the political and economic situation in their home country. Regions of origin are the People's Republic of China,

Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia. Boston's Chinatown is the third largest Chinese neighborhood in the country and is believed to be the oldest Chinatown in the nation (Walker, 1994).

Characteristics of CDEP Program. As part of the outreach for the CDEP program, articles were placed in the local Chinese press encouraging people to naturalize, vote, and be active citizens. In the articles, community issues were connected with the functioning of the political system. Curriculum and staff of the CDEP program were bilingual. Special emphasis was placed on the role of Chinese Americans in U.S. history. According to the funding proposal, the goal of the emphasis on Chinese American history, civil rights, and current events was to imbue a sense of pride and understanding in participants as both ethnic Chinese and as future American citizens. It was believed that feelings of pride and membership would foster active citizenship. Classroom instruction was combined with support services and extracurricular workshops and educational/advocacy activities. In 1996 and 1997, a number of workshops focused on welfare and immigration reform.

Active participation was at the heart of this organization's mission. Active citizenship was seen to begin prior to naturalization. Additionally, effective citizen participation was seen as being based in a critical understanding of the community's history and contemporary successes and challenges. The organization had brought Chinatown residents and citizenship students into coalitions to affect city policy on land parceling in residential Chinatown.[17] They organized a community-based plebiscite on a proposed parking garage development. In the Fall of 1994, over 1,700 community members voted on the proposed development. According to the organization, this was many people's first voting experience.

Dorchester

The community-based organization site in Dorchester was the largest Haitian human service agency in Massachusetts. Haitians in Dorchester and the surrounding neighborhoods have a variety of immigration statuses and backgrounds.

Organizational Context. Founded in 1978, the organization offered adult education programs, pre-school/day care, refugee resettlement services, health outreach and education programs, case management, and educational/vocational/immigration counseling. The organization previously operated a SLIAG program for the members of the Haitian community eligible for legal residence status and later naturalization under IRCA. Although the agency used standard forms of outreach such as flyers in churches and other agencies, most participants knew about the organization and it's service through word-of-mouth, known as "teledjol" in *Kreyol*. The organization provided public service announcements and information about community issues through a Haitian community radio program. Included were discussions around issues of naturalization and active citizenship and advertisement for their CDEP program.

Target Population and Area. Most participants in the CDEP program in Dorchester were *Kreyol*-speaking Haitians from the Dorchester, Mattapan, Roxbury, Hyde Park, Roslindale, Somerville, and Cambridge neighborhoods of Boston. They included those with refugee status and parolee status. The majority of Haitians living in Massachusetts have immigrated in the last 30 years. The migration has occurred in waves and follows a common migration pattern. The first wave was comprised of educated, elite individuals. Subsequent waves were composed of individuals with rural, less educated backgrounds. The first group arrived around 1957 when the Duvalier regime first came to power. The second wave began to arrive in 1972, shortly after Duvalier's son took office. The past decade has seen an especially rapid growth of the Haitian population in Boston. This has been attributed to a steady deterioration of economic, social, and political conditions in Haiti and a 1991 military coup that ousted

President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. While 1990 census data calculated that there were about 27,000 Haitians and Haitian-Americans in Massachusetts, community leaders have variously estimated between 70,000 and 120,000 (Radin, 1996).

Characteristics of CDEP Program. The director, who was also a facilitator in the program, was of Jamaican birth. She focused on bringing Haitians and other newcomer groups together in the citizenship program. She believed that interethnic understanding is promoted through learning about each other in the classroom and in the community. This happens through structured and unstructured dialogue.

Because most participants were working two or three jobs to send money back to their families, most participation activities were based in the classroom. Case studies were frequently used to illustrate tactics, rights, and resources that community groups such as the Somerville Coalition Organizing for Racial Equality and church-based groups have utilized in response to past racial incidents. Haitian neighborhoods in Boston have experienced cross-burning, harassment of business owners, and housing discrimination (Valdes, 1997). Some elderly participants who had more free time volunteered at the agency. They cooked lunch and read to children in the pre-school/day care program.

East Boston

The site at East Boston was established 18 years ago as 1 of 38 community centers in Boston. These community schools were created in response to lobbying efforts of Boston residents to access use of public school space during after school hours. The site served the low-income, multicultural population of East Boston.

Organizational Context. This site offered 12 full-time programs including after school day care, after school reading, a City Roots program, community counseling, peer leadership, summer camps, recreation, and senior programs. The CDEP program was part of the Adult Learning Program (ALP). This unit offered a full continuum of Spanish native literacy, ESOL, ABE, and GED classes using student-centered

participatory curricula. It was also a former SLIAG site. The focus of the ALP program was on empowerment and advocacy in a context of intercultural community building. According to the proposal, the Adult Learning Program's mission was:

> We endeavor to empower our students to become independent and self-sufficient. We seek to enable our students to utilize the resources of their community; where there are no services or resources, students should be encouraged to advocate for them. Among our student body, we strive to promote appreciation between cultures, and we encourage a sense of commonality between ethnically and culturally separated low income peoples. (p. 2)

This community school was a center of activism, both social and political, in East Boston. Both local politicians and community action organizations held frequent meetings at the center. Information and community forums on issues such as welfare reform were also held on site during the research period.

Target Population and Area. East Boston's demographics have changed dramatically in the last decade. Formerly a predominantly blue-collar neighborhood with Italian, Irish, and Portuguese residents, it is now home to large numbers of impoverished Central and South American, Indochinese, Brazilian, Portuguese, and Cape Verdean immigrants and refugees. According to the funding proposal submitted by East Boston, today almost 25% of East Boston's 32,941 documented residents are immigrants and refugees. Nearly two-thirds of this population are not naturalized.

Characteristics of CDEP Program. The CDEP program at the community school operated in partnership with a local community-based social service agency which provided housing, family and youth, and ESOL services. This offered CDEP participants a broad spectrum of supporting services. Interorganizational collaborations provided opportunities for citizenship participants to participate in community activities. A recent project involved working with a neighborhood health center in developing health education curricula by and for adult learners. Most citizenship students were also in other adult education classes at the site. Lobbying for increased funding for adult education programs was a common advocacy activity facilitated in the

citizenship classes. The Community Advisory Board, which planned and evaluated community collaborations at the center, was another medium of participation available to CDEP participants.

Fall River

Fall River is home to a large Cambodian community. A mutual assistance association (MAA) served this community with CDEP citizenship services and other programs.

Organizational Context. The MAA in Fall River was established in 1990 and provided educational services, including ESOL, health education, parent education programs, vocational training, and workshops on Cambodian culture to the community at large. Social services such as crisis intervention, interpretation, and referral were available. Cultural services included cultural events and classes in Khmer language and culture. The organization also had developed the Angor Plaza, a community development center housed in a former mill building. Cambodian-owned businesses, a cultural center facility, and the MAA's offices and classrooms shared the space.

Target Population and Area. Fall River is a textile mill city in Southeast Massachusetts. Early newcomers included Polish in the Corky Row neighborhood and Portuguese in the Flint neighborhood. The first Cambodians came to Massachusetts in 1980 after fleeing a genocide carried out by the Khmer Rouge in the late 1970s. The Cambodian holocaust resulted in the deaths of 2 to 3 million people. According to the CDEP director, in 1997 there were around 5,000 Cambodians in Fall River.[18] A large percentage of Cambodians are of rural background and do not have the experience of formal education. Men have higher rates of literacy in Khmer than women. Literacy in English is also more prevalent among men. The Cambodian population has a disproportionate number of individuals with severe psychological trauma as a result of their experiences with war, a holocaust, political repression, and the refugee flight.[19]

As a community, the greatest challenge was identified as racism.[20] In 1993 Cambodian refugee Sam Nang Nhem was beaten to death in Fall River (Polochanin, 1994). In response to this racially motivated murder, the organization mobilized community leaders and developed a seven-point plan of action to combat racism in Fall River. The plan included creating a city minority liaison and establishing zero tolerance racism policies.

Characteristics of CDEP Program. A citizenship curriculum developed in 1995 included role plays around the subjects of monarchy and democracy to demonstrate and foster dialogue on the role of the individual in each system of government. Members of the class were encouraged to demonstrate or explain the role of the individual within the Communist system as well. The significance of the individual in a democracy was then related to the rights and responsibilities of citizens. Suggestions for guest lecturers listed in the curriculum included German holocaust survivors discussing victimization, totalitarianism, survival and the relationship to freedom and democracy/political repression; Civil Rights activists discussing tactics for social change; and volunteers of local neighborhood associations sharing the purpose and structures of their organizations.

Fields Corner

The Fields Corner site was a mutual assistance association (MAA). It primarily served the Vietnamese community in Dorchester and surrounding neighborhoods.

Organizational Context. The mission of this multiservice agency founded in 1984, was to advocate for the Greater Boston Vietnamese community. Since the arrival of Indochinese after 1975, MAAs have been the central self-help organizations in Indochinese communities (Abhay et al., 1991; Hein, 1995). The 1996 objectives of this agency were (a) to assist Vietnamese refugee and immigrant families in achieving self-sufficiency, (b) to provide health education and social services, and (c) to help attain U.S. citizenship which would hence encourage self and community empowerment

through the participation and involvement in the American political process. Programs offered at the agency included ESOL, job placement, summer youth programs, counseling, translation and interpretation, health education, information, referral, and advocacy services.

Target Population and Area. Fields Corner is in the heart of Dorchester - one of Boston's inner city communities and Boston's largest neighborhood. It is also Boston's most ethnically diverse neighborhood, home to Irish and African Americans, Haitians, Cape Verdeans, Dominicans, Hondurans, El Salvadorans, and others. Around Saint Patrick's Day, bakery signs such as "Order Your Irish Bread Now -$1.70" appear alongside supermarkets signs in Vietnamese.

Since the late 1980s, the Vietnamese have made up half of the Indochinese new arrival population in Massachusetts, making them the largest Indochinese subgroup (Office of Refugee and Immigrant Health, 1995). According to the Viet-Aid organization in Dorchester (personal communication, June 16, 1997), there were approximately 10,000 Vietnamese in Dorchester and 23,000 in the Greater Boston area during the research period.

Generational and factional differences in political and social activism that are found in refugee Vietnamese communities across the U.S. (Gold, 1992) have also surfaced in Boston. However, an incident at the Dorchester Day parade on June 7, 1992 brought the Boston Vietnamese community together to rally around an issue related to local politics. City Councilor Albert (Dapper) O'Neil, honorary grand marshal of the parade, made the following comments which were picked up by a home video camera and broadcast on the local news, "I thought I was in Saigon, for Chrissakes...it makes you sick, for chrissakes...I told them I'd come back with the checks tomorrow" (Rezendes, 1992). The Vietnamese community responded with a series of meetings with other ethnic community leaders and sponsored a "Boston Neighborhood Unity Rally" (Sege, 1992) at City Hall plaza. The theme of the rally was racial unity. The

program included speakers from other ethnic communities and a voter registration drive. This event was a catalyst for the organization to apply to become a CDEP site.

Characteristics of CDEP Program. The original citizenship education program model involved classes, group "brushups", and individual tutorials. Class members were also matched to a community activists/mentors to work on a community service project such as neighborhood crime watch, after-school tutoring for kids, voter registration events, neighborhood clean up, City Council, or State House meetings. At the time of the research, individual projects had made way for collective classroom problem-posing[21] activities on current issues like welfare reform. Participants also participated in advocacy activities such as Lobby Day at the State House[22] and letter-writing campaigns. In the last year, there had been an increase in elderly with limited English proficiency coming to the agency seeking help with the naturalization process. A new ESOL program, including both oral history and citizenship components, was developed in response to this need. It was offered at a local senior center. The site also recruited Vietnamese college students from local universities as volunteer teachers in the citizenship classes and other programs.

Lawrence

The Lawrence site was a family development center based at a charter school. It primarily served the local Dominican community.

Organizational Context. The organization offered educational programs for parent education and empowerment. The mission of the organization revolved around developing families' capacities to support their children's growth and academic achievement, influence public school reform, and develop civic leadership capacities. Cultural heritage, parenting skills, and self-esteem were emphasized. The organization operated a Parent Mobilization Project which trained Spanish-speaking parents to be workshop facilitators, organizers, and recruiters. The organization also sponsored a weekly Spanish language television program hosted by staff members. Topics included

issues of community concern such as citizenship. Information about community businesses and social services was also featured.

In the Parent Mobilization Project, parents discovered they needed to know their rights and responsibilities as non-citizens and citizens to be participants in their children's education. The project evolved to include citizenship as a crucial step in mobilization and civic involvement. In developing their citizenship program, the funding proposal stated:

> We believe that preparation for citizenship based in the fundamental goal of improved opportunities for their children will have a lasting effect on civic participation including, but not limited to casting a ballot for better representation. (p. 3)

The proposal continued:

> Citizenship services, particularly if incorporated in a family empowerment initiative, will strengthen the will of new immigrants to succeed in this culture for themselves and their children. In applying the skills of advocacy with the knowledge of citizenship they will demand accountability from those who provide services to immigrants and refugees. Too often lack of citizenship is a barrier of fear which prevents residents from expecting humane treatment, decency and respect, and equal treatment under the law. The "badge" of citizenship without the power of self-determination is only a partial victory. (p. 5)

Target Population and Area. Lawrence was once a major center for the manufacture of woolen textiles, its mills employing thousands of immigrant workers. In 1912, the Industrial Workers of the World led the millworkers in the now famous "Bread and Roses" strike. At the turn of the century, immigrants from Ireland, Poland, Italy, Syria, and Canada were following jobs to Lawrence. Contemporary newcomers are from the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Vietnam, and Cambodia.

Lawrence is the poorest city per capita in the Commonwealth and one of the 25 poorest in the country (Powers, 1997). In 1997, Lawrence High School was the second school in recent state history to lose its accreditation (Avenoso, 1997). But there are some stories of hope. In December of 1995, a fire nearly destroyed the 130-year-old Malden Mills, a textile mill than employed 2,500 people. Owner Aaron Feuerstein

chose to rebuild rather than take insurance money and relocate south. He also kept employees on the payroll and covered by health benefits during renovations.

The Latino community of Lawrence has been growing since 1962. Cubans and Puerto Ricans have been followed by Dominican immigrants, often entire small villages moving together. Many came to the U.S. undocumented and citizenship efforts were limited until the recent amnesty laws. The Dominican-born director of the citizenship program estimated that there were around 40,000 Dominicans in Lawrence in the 1996-1997 period. She stated that the Dominican community is said to make up 60% of the Spanish-speaking population in Lawrence.

Characteristics of CDEP Program. The citizenship project, building on the Parent Mobilization Project model, trained program facilitators and volunteers to offer citizenship preparation classes. Classes were held at the host charter school, in homes, in local community-owned businesses, in elderly housing, and in the public library. The strengthening of the family unit was the base of this citizenship program, as it was with all the work done by this organization. The facilitators used their own and their fellow community members' experiences to explore the purpose of citizenship and how it can influence themselves, their families, and their community in meaningful ways. Class discussions drew on the participants' past experiences in their native countries and the U.S. Participants reflected on and compared the meaning of citizenship in their home and new countries. The facilitators were also recruiters who identified, invited, and trained future workshop facilitators from citizenship class participants.

There was also a relationship with a private school in a neighboring town which offered a community service component in their Spanish language program. Students came to the Lawrence site and assisted with naturalization interview practice. At the same time they learned about their Dominican community neighbors.

Lowell

In Lowell, a mutual assistance association (MAA) operated the CDEP program in collaboration with a voters' league founded by Cambodian community members. It primarily served the Cambodian and Indochinese communities of that city.

Organizational Context. The Lowell site was founded in 1985 and offered ESOL and employment services, daycare, programs promoting Cambodian culture and heritage, youth and family support programs, and environmental education projects. Its mission was to assist Cambodian and Indochinese self-sufficiency while maintaining and promoting native culture. There was also a bilingual newsletter published by the agency. Contents included announcements on community events, literature and art, and commentaries and editorials from community members.

The organization offered the citizenship program in partnership with a voting league founded by and serving the city's Cambodian population. The goals of this voters' league as set out in the organization's bylaws were (a) to promote and develop civic education in the Cambodian American voters' community; (b) to encourage U.S. citizenship application among Cambodians and to promote voting registration; (c) to promote the development of technical, paraprofessional, and professional skills and expertise in sociopolitical areas for the Cambodian community members; (d) to promote political participation of all Cambodian Americans at the local, state, and national level; (e) to advocate before the legislative and all governmental levels for the civil rights and interests of the Cambodian American community members; and (f) to network with all ethnic community organizations and public agencies for the development and progress of the community. This organization had provided citizenship preparation training prior to receiving the CDEP grant.

Target Population and Area. Situated on the Merrimack River, the city of Lowell is the fourth largest city in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Lowell was established in 1826 as a mill city during the Industrial Revolution. Many of the mills

built for the textile industry have been converted to modern factories, office space, and historical attractions. The first immigrant populations in Lowell included Irish,[23] French-Canadian,[24] Greek, Polish, and Portuguese immigrants. According to the agency's brochure, Lowell experienced a 117% increase in its foreign-born population between 1980 and 1990. Indochinese and Latino families made up most of this increase.

In 1997, Lowell was home to approximately 25,000 Cambodians, the second largest Cambodian community in the U.S. Indochinese now make up one fourth of Lowell's population of 106,000. Cambodians in Lowell are mostly secondary migrants, drawn to the presence of an existing Cambodian community, the first Buddhist temple on the East coast, and the city's economic opportunities in factories for the mostly unskilled laborers.

Anti-immigrant feelings and attacks have surfaced with the increasing size of the Cambodian population. The most well-publicized racially motivated crime was the 1987 murder of 13-year-old Vandy Phorng by an 11-year-old white boy. The white boy's father was an outspoken advocate for the English Only movement in Lowell (Kiang, 1996; Tan 1987a, 1987b; Wong, 1987).

In Lowell, the age of the community was cited as a major factor in increasing naturalization numbers. A Cambodian-born facilitator theorized:

> I find that refugees and immigrants here, most of us have been here since the early 1980s, so 10 to 15 years. Our primary needs I would say have been met for a lot of us. When we were fighting to get food on the table and learning the language those kinds of things took precedence at first and political participation was last in priorities, to get involved. Right now, as I see it, more Cambodians are getting involved, becoming citizens, registering to vote because they realize, wow, now I have food on the table and kids in school, and money is not the major problem, and this and that and I own property. A lot of Cambodians in Lowell are purchasing houses now, paying taxes, Where political was secondary they are getting more involved now. That's why more and more are becoming citizens now.

Characteristics of CDEP Program. The CDEP director and all the volunteer teachers were Cambodian Americans. All teachers were members of the voters' league, and many were University of Massachusetts/Lowell students. Day and evening citizenship classes in English and Khmer were offered at the agency, at one of the two Buddhist temples on weekends, and in individuals' homes. Originally, individuals with low English levels were referred to in-house ESOL classes. However, a "pre-citizenship" class for elderly focusing on ESOL with citizenship content was created in the spring of 1997. The class was developed in response to the influx of elderly with limited English proficiency after the passage of the Welfare Reform Act. Many citizenship class participants needed child care services in order to attend the CDEP classes. The agency had their own day care center on site. Participants in the citizenship classes were invited to attend various educational and advocacy events sponsored by the two host organizations such as immigrant community meetings.

New Bedford

In New Bedford, an immigrant social service agency collaborated with a university-based labor education program. The CDEP program primarily served the city's Portuguese immigrant population.

Organizational Context. The immigrant assistance organization was founded in 1971 and offered advocacy, information, counseling, basic needs assistance, ESOL, and other intervention services to newcomers. It had offered citizenship preparation programs since 1987. The mission of the organization was to ease linguistic, social, cultural, and economic barriers of non-English speakers so as to take advantage of the economic, social, and civic opportunities and become independent and productive members of the community.

The labor education program was formed in 1975 by area trade unions and the university to promote greater understanding and cooperation between labor, industry, religious, and community organizations. ESOL and GED classes had been offered

since 1986 and citizenship courses since 1988. The basic mission of the labor education program was to improve the English-speaking ability and educational skill level of working individuals. Educational initiatives offered had the further goals of assisting participants in gaining greater self-esteem, becoming more productive in the workplace, adapting to changing workplace needs, and becoming more active members of their community.

Target Population and Area. The city of New Bedford was an 18th century whaling capital immortalized in Herman Melville's (1851) Moby Dick. The city, which still has a working waterfront, is an industrial center. However, recent years have seen a number of factory closings that have adversely affected newcomer and native-born workers alike.

The predominant immigrant group in New Bedford is the Portuguese, many of whom have been here for 10, 20, or more years. Other immigrant groups include Latinos, Brazilians, Cape Verdeans, French Canadian, and Slavic-speaking newcomers. New Bedford is home to the first Cape Verdean Catholic Church in the United States.

Characteristics of CDEP Program. Classes were offered in the Neighborhood College division of the university, at local factories, and at the service agency. In addition to agency and flyer advertising and ethnic TV and radio spots, outreach was done by current students. They recruited in their own workplaces, passed out student-generated flyers, and wore buttons with the slogan "Ask me about CDEP." One unique method of recruiting undertaken by the New Bedford site was to put flyers announcing citizenship classes in paycheck envelopes at a local factory.

Professional adult education teachers and bilingual/bicultural teachers aides were used. Classes were multilevel. A buddy system paired lower level and higher level students for out-of-class study sessions. There was an "express class" for students at a higher English level. After completing the CDEP program, citizenship program

students received special preference in placement for other adult education classes for which there is a long waiting list.

The citizenship classes started off with a kind of citizen participation needs assessment. In the first class, reflective activities had students list characteristics and actions of good citizens, then compare and add their answers to that from published civic education guides. Next, they were asked to imagine that if everyone in New Bedford was an ideal citizen what would be different. Following this they were asked what needed to happen so that New Bedford could become the way they imagined it and who would bring about those changes. Then they looked at why people don't participate and what we need to know to be able to participate. Participants were asked to think of active citizens they knew and what skills those individuals possessed. The participants then listed what they needed to know to take a more active role in the community. The facilitator would then incorporate the participants' needs into the curriculum. These might include anything from learning how to read English to knowing who to call about problems in the neighborhood to where one would go to register and vote after becoming a citizen.

South Cove

A community school in South Cove served Boston's Chinatown, South Cove and South End neighborhoods of Boston. It primarily served the area's Asian population.

Organizational Context. Founded in 1969, the South Cove site was the largest community school in Boston. A Common Council made up of community residents, service providers, and supporters planned and evaluated programs and developed agency policy and direction. Programs in bilingual day care, recreation and youth programs, after school programs, and ESOL served children, teens, and adults. The organization also worked with other Chinatown and city agencies to assess and advocate for community needs such as developing parks for Chinatown. Before

becoming a CDEP site, this site had created a citizenship education program using a one-on-one and small group tutorial model.

Target Population and Area. The school was on the edge of Chinatown. The Chinese community of Greater Boston includes Chinatown, South Cove, South End, Allston/Brighton, Brookline, Malden, Cambridge, and Quincy. The site estimated that 85% of the state's Asian/Pacific Islanders live in the Greater Boston area. Many residents are employed in electronics manufacturing, garment, food service, clerical, and hotel industries, due primarily to lack of English language ability.

Characteristics of CDEP Program. Tutors included bilingual and non-Mandarin or Cantonese-speaking community members and also volunteers from corporate and university volunteer programs. There were tutoring sessions and a class available. Participants with limited English proficiency were matched with bilingual tutors using bilingual materials. U.S. history in this program included the history of Chinese immigration. In a curriculum called "From the Middle Kingdom to the Golden Mountain," classes explored history including the theory of the first Chinese visitor to America predating Columbus[25] and the reasons for Chinese immigration that began 150 years ago. Other subjects included conditions of existence for Chinese in America since that time. This included the limits on Chinese immigration to the United States as legislated in a series of Chinese exclusion laws, the barred zone clause in the 1917 Immigration Act, and the 1924 Immigration Act (Reimers, 1985; Takaki, 1989). Contributions of Chinese Americans to the growth of the United States were also highlighted.

Both tutoring sessions and the class used the local Chinese language newspaper to identify and learn more about community issues. Last year, participants in the program identified the issue of licensing for a strip club in their community[26] as something that affected them all. They read about the issue in the community newspaper. As a class, they investigated and learned about the licensing process and

rights and limits of protesters in the U.S. Class participants also attended licensing hearings and signed petitions.

Springfield

In the Pioneer Valley[27] of Western Massachusetts, a VOLAG collaborated with a local literacy volunteer network to offer a CDEP program. Many participants were refugees who had been resettled by the VOLAG.

Organizational Context. The Springfield site had been operating as a refugee resettlement program in Western Massachusetts since 1980. It offered case management, employment services, training programs, and ESOL classes. Their proposal expressed the belief that, "Citizenship and democracy education are the poor relatives of service delivery programming to newcomers" (p. 1). Staff was predominantly bilingual, bicultural workers sharing the ethnic background of the clients.

The literacy program had operated in Hampden county since 1988 to offer adult literacy services (ABE, GED, ESOL, citizenship education) through use of volunteer tutors. The two organizations had been independently providing citizenship education and/or services prior to being awarded the CDEP contract.

Target Population and Area. The Pioneer Valley of Western Massachusetts, especially the city of Springfield, has a number of newcomer populations, including Cambodian, Polish, Korean, Chinese, Laotian, Dominican, Central American, and Bosnian. The two largest newcomer groups are the Vietnamese and "Slavic-speaking," those who have come from the republics of the former Soviet Union.

According to the Vietnamese American Association of Western Massachusetts (personal correspondence, January 19, 1997) there were about 5,000 Vietnamese in this area during the research period. Indochinese began to be resettled in the U.S. beginning in 1975, after the fall of Saigon to Communists. Three distinct subgroups are commonly identified. The first wave were mostly South Vietnamese evacuated in April

1975. This group consisted of U.S. employees and members of South Vietnamese military and government. The second wave (1979-1981) comprised a more diverse group including ethnic Chinese from Vietnam. This group is commonly referred to as the "Boat People." The most recent arrivals are Amerasians[28] and political detainees. Since 1990, the Vietnamese political detainees, former army officers and civil servants of the South Vietnamese government who were detained in Communist "reeducation camps," have been arriving in the U.S. There are great differences in educational levels between various "waves." The majority are Catholic, but there is also an active Buddhist community and a temple opened in the summer of 1997.

The Slavic-speaking group includes Jews and Pentecostal Christians who have come to the U.S. as refugees since the lifting of travel restrictions in 1987. According to the Springfield funding proposal, Springfield was home to approximately 2,500 Pentecostal Christians and 1,500 Soviet Jews in the mid-1990s. Springfield is a major resettlement area for Pentecostal Christians, who within Massachusetts make up only 10% of the State's former Soviet Union population (Office of Refugee and Immigrant Health, 1995). Slavic Pentecostals are mostly semi-skilled workers literate in their own languages. Most do not speak English when they arrive in the U.S. They come from rural areas of Ukraine and Siberia. The Soviet Jews tend to be more highly educated. They migrate from urban areas of the former Soviet Union.

Characteristics of CDEP Program. The CDEP program in Springfield emphasized introducing participants to community activists, organizations, and political representatives. The program used traditional outreach through local ethnic media such as the Russian language newspaper, flyers posted in public places and ethnic/social service agencies, and a referral network with ethnic/ social service organizations. In addition, the program was introduced in informational forums held in the community on social service issues sponsored by the VOLAG. In 1996, a series of information

sessions on welfare reform was held at a Russian Pentecostal church. The CDEP program and how to contact it were discussed.

Classes were held at the social ministry agency, local housing projects, libraries and churches, ethnic organizations, and other service agencies. Class times and days of the week varied to accommodate the various needs of the participants. Volunteers included professional adult education teachers, retired citizens, and college students. The majority of the teachers were native-born. However, there were volunteer teachers from the communities of the participants. Facilitators were trained by an Educational Coordinator.

A team teaching approach was used. According to the CDEP Education Coordinator, the rationale for using this approach included:

1. Balance - each teacher's strengths and weaknesses (for example someone with a strong background in history would be paired with someone who focused on participatory action research activities, or a professional teacher would be paired with someone from the community of the learner);

2. Practical - if one person couldn't make it, there is another teacher to carry on the class;

3. Mutual support and encouragement - teachers helped each other;

4. Model - cooperative and collective work.

The ideal team teaching pair, according to the coordinator, would be a professional adult education teacher matched with an ethnic community volunteer. Because team teaching assignments were dependent on the available volunteer pool, this was seldom accomplished despite active recruitment of volunteer tutors from the local ethnic communities.

Summary

Massachusetts is home to a large number of newcomers. Listening to stakeholders and exploring their communities and organizations highlights the

heterogeneity in newcomer communities. There was a wide range of organizations offering citizenship services as part of the CDEP program. Each offered unique approaches to citizenship services. Yet all of the organizations shared the conviction that offering citizenship education was congruous with their mission to empower newcomer communities.

Newcomers vary in conditions of migration and immigration status, educational levels, residential and organizational patterns and social service needs. For example, at Fields Corner, the American-born director cautioned to keep in mind differences in Indochinese populations. He noted that the Cambodian population had special challenges. Because so many literates were killed in the Khmer Rouge genocide, the Cambodian adults here in the U.S. have a high percentage of illiteracy in their native language and English. In contrast, the Vietnamese adult population has a generally higher education level, especially the political detainees. Approaches to educational and social service provisions must be appropriate to each community.

The CDEP program staff realized that participants may have health, family, educational, or legal challenges that could impede their participating as full members of their various communities. The participants in citizenship classes were offered a variety of health, family, educational, and legal support services available at the agency and other collaborating organizations. Examples of such services were counseling and substance abuse treatment, access to childcare, and referrals to free legal counsel.

Despite the variations between and within newcomer communities, all newcomers share the experience of starting a new life in the United States. This includes the decision of whether or not to naturalize. The next section will present the voices of CDEP program participants, facilitators, and directors as they discuss their motivations around naturalization.

Motivations

Newcomers applying for citizenship have always had a variety of motivations ranging from purely economic considerations to political idealism. In the 1920s Gosnell (1928) identified the primary reasons for naturalization as economic. However, he did also note that some newcomers expressed wanting to attain full-fledged community membership. Greater ease of bringing relatives to this country has also consistently been one of the most common incentives (Stewart, 1993).

Some claim naturalized citizenship, once considered a bond of loyalty between the country and newcomers has evolved into a claim check to rights and membership in an increasingly discriminating welfare state. According to the Haitian-born director of the Springfield CDEP site, newcomers' views of citizenship are changing:

> I think what is happening now is that naturalization in the U.S. is being associated with opportunities to have access to a variety of benefits. Naturalization in America is creating classes of people who can have opportunities and not have these opportunities. So when you ask the question of rewards to those who are applying for citizenship, they see it as a matter of differences of those who are going to have or not have, classes of citizens and noncitizens. Those who are going to become citizens want to be part of this class and have access to the pool of resources. I think this is the general view of how naturalization is being perceived now.

Motivations documented in this research ranged from the desire to retain federal benefits to those newcomers who wanted to participate in the political and civic institutions in the United States and have a voice in issues such as welfare reform, bilingual education, immigration reform, and English-only legislation. Anecdotal evidence has suggested that having children is another experience that may reshape political attitudes and behaviors of newcomers towards citizenship and participation. Sontag (1993) documented one newcomer who saw himself becoming more interested in the laws and politics of his new country as he saw his American-born and non-citizen children become "Americanized."

There are a number of reasons for newcomers choosing not to naturalize. Becker (1993) listed (a) experience with discrimination, (b) inability to retain dual

citizenship, (c) English literacy requirement, (d) loss of native country rights and benefits including property ownership and work status, (e) reticence to be subject to INS investigation, (f) belief of impermanence of stay, (g) time and cost of naturalizing, (h) disagreement with U.S. government foreign or domestic policy, and (g) feelings of loyalty to native country. Emotional issues often focus around the oath of allegiance. A German female participant in a Springfield class said, "I started [the naturalization process] before, but I couldn't take that oath. I love the U.S. My husband and son are Americans, but I felt like I would be abandoning my home country."

Motivation is commonly identified as an inner drive, impulse, emotion or desire that is a key to learning or the taking of an action. It can be global, situational or task-oriented (Brown, 1987). There are numerous paradigms, the most famous perhaps being Maslow's (1970) hierarchy of human needs, or prepotency. The instrumental/ integrative construct has been used by Gardner and Lambert (1972) in studies of motivation in second language learning. Instrumental motivation refers to motivation to acquire a language to attain instrumental goals in areas such as career. Integrative motivation suggests the desire to acquire a language to identify with the peoples and culture of the host society, to "belong" to American society. Graham (1984) distinguished between integrative and assimilative motivation, distinguishing integrative motivation as a desire to learn a language to communicate with the speakers of that language or learn about them non-directly. Assimilative motivation refers to motivation to adopt the culture and habits of the community in an attempt to become an indistinguishable member of that community. In the discussion below, I use the terms pragmatic incentive, towards the attainment of propitious, often material goals; and symbolic incentive, referring to working towards a sense of well-being in relation to identity.

Pragmatic Incentive

The Chinese-born director of the South Cove site believed that some Chinese participants saw citizenship status as a "tool" for tangible benefits. In classroom inquiry throughout the 12 sites, participants often used the broad term "benefits" to explain their incentive for seeking naturalization. More specific answers included (a) easing of restrictions on bringing family members to the U.S., (b) relieving the need to pay for pre-1978 replacement green cards, (c) allowing their children under 18 to become citizens without testing and interviews, (d) providing eligibility for certain government jobs,[29] (e) furthering their education or eligibility for financial aid/scholarships for children, and (f) avoiding effects of possible future legislation that might put their immigration status in danger. Others wanted to avoid the non-citizen line in the airport. One student, originally from Ecuador, talked of a recent trip abroad she took with her family. Upon return her husband and son, both U.S. citizens, went through the U.S. citizen line at Customs. They then had to wait for over an hour for her to go through the non-citizen line. Another Russian-speaking woman wrote in an essay her desire "to be under protection of USA during traveling."

Some participants believed that anti-immigration legislation might take away their homes or pensions. An elderly Russian-speaking couple stated that citizenship would help "not to be worried about our age or illness." Some elderly cited their motivation to naturalize as avoiding loss of their SSI benefits. Directors told many stories of immigrants crying in their office over this fear. In Boston, the American-born director recalled, "'If I don't pass I'll kill myself'. I've heard that a lot, usually a really old person with little English, so it is usually through interpreters."

One elderly Canadian woman who had lived in Western Massachusetts for 38 years related to me in tears that she was becoming a citizen or else she would starve to death when the government took away her benefits. She stressed that although she had never naturalized, she had contributed to this country in many ways. She mentioned a

number of times that as a member of her town's school committee, she had helped to get a new school built in her district.

Symbolic Incentive

Symbolic issues that were mentioned included participants who expressed integrative motivation. A woman from the Former Soviet Union in Springfield wrote, "It is very important for me to know that I am not a stateless person, but I am a citizen of the United States." Another older West Indian-born woman wrote:

> It would give me great joy in being able to tell my grandchildren that I am an American, just like they are and it would also make me a part of this beautiful country. Being an American is important to me, so I am truly saying that I am an American.

One Jamaican-born man saw citizenship as allowing him a "bond of loyalty" with his new country.

Many cited the freedom American offered them and their families. Others expressed altruistic sentiments and gratitude. In Springfield a Haitian-born man wrote, "Why I want to become an American is to be a good citizen to all Americans, and do my best to help other people who need my help." A facilitator from the Cambodian community who recently became a U.S. citizen himself, shared, "Becoming a citizen is not just to become an American. You help yourself grow and help your family and eventually your community and country." A number of participants used the terms "honor" and "privilege" in reference to becoming a U.S. citizen. Many participants mentioned that they thought people treat you different when they know that you are an American citizen.

Combining Multiple Motivations

Motivations are complex, sometimes subconscious, and often hard to identify. Many participants expressed multiple motivations. Few newcomers I spoke to identified citizenship as either strictly legal or solely community membership. A German-born woman who had lived in the United States for 23 years and was married

to a native-born American shared her motivations that combined both pragmatic and symbolic motivations:

> I have a son who wants to go to a military academy. If I become a citizen, it might make it easier for him. But you asked why I am becoming a citizen now after so many years. I guess because of all the new laws against immigrants. I have worked ever since I came to this country. I've never been on welfare. The news makes it sound like all immigrants are on welfare or illegal. The laws are unfair and if I'm a citizen I have more ability to do something about it.

One female Colombian-born participant in the Springfield program wrote in an essay entitled "Why I want to be an American":

> I decided to become an American citizen because I want to have the right to vote. I am a Colombian citizen and I believe that you should vote in that country that you call home. I have lived here in the USA for 10, almost 11 years. I married a Puerto Rican and I would like to go with him to vote, not just wait for him in the car and ask him for whom he voted. Also, I have two children and I want to decide who is going to be in charge of their education.

Motivations of Facilitators and Directors

A brief consideration of staff and volunteer motivations for working in the CDEP project might also be illuminating. There was a wide range in backgrounds of directors, facilitators, and teacher aides in the CDEP programs. Native-born citizens included retired Anglo professionals and adult education teachers. From the communities of the learners, social service professionals work alongside 1.5 generation[30] college students and homemakers.

In a staff meeting I attended in Lawrence, facilitators sharing why they were part of the CDEP program asserted "helping my community," "giving back to my community," "helping my people." The facilitators typically had families, one or more jobs, and lived in the community.

The Cambodian-born CDEP Director in Lowell told me she worked seven days a week, was a single mom with two kids and was going to college. She shared her personal history to explain why she worked in citizenship:

> Ten of the 13 people in my family were killed by the Khmer Rouge. When I came here I had no money. But I had food. America treated me fairly. The government was very generous. Here I had chance to go to school. Life is hard here. Many people are poor but we have freedom. Becoming an American citizen created a new human being. That is why I work to help other Cambodians become American citizens.

Facilitators who were 1.5 generation wanted to help those who had less English or had arrived more recently. They also stated that they wanted to get to know their community, sometimes for the first time. One young Cambodian-American facilitator had come to the U.S. as a child and grew up with an American foster family in a predominantly white suburb. He moved to Lowell to be with and help the large Cambodian community. He reflected:

> Well, I came here when I was young, and I came here as a refugee and I lived with American foster parents. So that's different. So I was put into American environment: family, culture and everything else that is considered "American", quote unquote. I hang around with American friends and I go to school with mostly white Caucasians. So I know American culture and society, but as I go to college, and workplace and all that I began to think, this doesn't feel right to me. Even though I love American society, I still feel that some part of me was missing. I was distanced from Cambodian community, my Cambodian language was beginning to dwindle little by little. Then I began to have more Cambodian friends and I sort of gravitated to Lowell and met other Cambodian colleagues who went to college. So I know that my American family, they are middle class family, so political participation was not the greatest , they didn't really get into that too much. But when I went to university and got involved in student government and because of my major, so I have a lot of interest. So I have different ideas of political participation than other Cambodians. I believe you can make a difference, one person. So I am involved in civic education. Getting Cambodians involved is one of my values.

Native-born American teachers mentioned their immigrant parents or ancestors. Some mentioned a desire to fight new anti-immigrant laws. A number stated that they had really learned a lot about their own citizenship by working with newcomers. This was something they had previously taken for granted. They also were relearning or appreciating American history and government. The Boston American-born director shared:

> Before I started doing this, I really wasn't interested in history and government. I only took what was required in college. When I started teaching, I panicked. But I was really surprised that a lot of it came back

> to me. I knew a lot. I'm totally amazed by the Constitution. It's amazing how many articles there are in the newspaper that relate to history and government, obviously politics and government, but also illustrations of points in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution.

Summary

All sites had seen tremendous increases in elderly and limited English proficiency (LEP) students between 1996 and 1997. Sites agreed that many of these new participants may never have considered going through the naturalization process before the passage of the immigration and welfare reform laws of 1996. The increase in participants applying to the classes or coming in for counseling ranged from double to triple 1995 figures. In Lowell, the Cambodian-born director recalled:

> Recruiting students [for citizenship classes] used to be difficult. There was a lot of resistance. People didn't like me. Now because of welfare reform many are coming. Last year I had six inquiries a month. Now I have six inquiries a day.

Sites reported changes in motivation along with changing number and composition of participants. The Chinese-born CDEP director in Chinatown stated, "Ten years ago, the main goal for applying for citizenship was for preferential family reunification. Now the main goal is to retain benefits. So the students often have a strong test agenda."

The increase in pragmatic motivations was considered to have a strong effect on citizen participation. In Dorchester, the Jamaican-born director cited:

> In 1994, when this program started, most of the people who were taking citizenship education were taking it for the sake of becoming a citizen, because there wasn't a threat then. Those people were more active. Those are the people who said, "I have this time on my hands to take this class to become a citizen." But now everyone is taking the class in response to the changes, so you have less citizen participation. They just want to pass the test and that's it.

The Haitian-born director in Springfield reflected:

> Some people have been in this country for 15 or 20 years and have never thought about citizenship. Now, because the state is making the differentiation between citizen and noncitizens they are forcing these people to seek citizenship.

An American-born facilitator who had worked in various aspects of refugee resettlement for many years stated, "Newcomers used to see citizenship as one milestone out of the many in the process of settling into their new countries. Now citizenship is this huge requirement with pressure, a focus on the test."

Some directors and facilitators reported that facilitating a citizen participation component with current students was much more difficult. Lower language levels demanded more attention to the mastering of the test and interview portion of the naturalization process. However, some sites noted that there was increased interest in learning and doing something about recent anti-immigrant legislation. In Chinatown, for example, the Chinese-born director told me about changes in the lives of some of the elderly women who had participated in the CDEP program. She stated that some of these women, who had never paid any attention to politics, or anything outside the family, had started to think differently. They expressed a new belief that they should be playing a part in the democratic process. The director stated:

> There was all this positive energy. This group of elderly women were talking about Governor Weld! If any good came out of welfare reform it was that it has scared people and mobilized people to advocate for themselves.

It is a challenge to do research in the area of immigration without making broad generalizations. Newcomers differ in sociopolitical characteristics, immigration and reception experiences. The following two chapters will present the experiences and opinions of newcomers within the context of citizen participation. An attempt will be made to balance distinct and similar perspectives and experiences within the categorizing of data into a theoretical framework. Chapter 5 will explore definitions, enabling skills, and contexts of citizen participation. Chapter 6 will identify opportunities and challenges to newcomer citizen participation.

Notes

[1] The Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975 (U.S. SL 1975) provided for one-time funding for Indochinese refugees. States would be reimbursed by the federal government for cash and medical assistance. The Reauthorization Act in 1977 (U.S. SL 1977) continued federal funding and offered refugees the status of "permanent resident." The Indochinese Refugee Children Assistance Act of 1976 (U.S. SL 1976) reimbursed states for refugee children's education, including language instruction and also funded adult refugee education programs. The Refugee Act of 1980 (P. L. 96-212) institutionalized federal assistance by, among other agreements, establishing the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) in the Department of Health and Human Services. See Leibowitz (1983) and Kennedy (1981) for legislative history, goals and examples of implementation of Refugee Act of 1980. See Strand and Jones (1985) for it's effects on resettlement policies. See Gallagher, Forbes, and Fagen (1985) for the independent Refugee Policy Group's analysis of the Refugee Act.

[2] The Volume 21, Number 2 (1987) issue of International Migration Review includes several articles on the naturalization patterns of several Spanish-speaking groups.

[3] This document is comprised of data from the federal Office of Refugee Resettlement; Immigration and Naturalization Service; U.S. Census Bureau; U.S. Department of State - Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration; Massachusetts Department of Education and Department of Public Health. Federal agency data is supplemented with counts provided through ORI's VOLAGs. The office warned that census data is 10 years out of date and undercounts some populations such as Indochinese and East Europeans, and does not count other groups such as Bosnians or Somalis. Secondary migration is another factor making exact counting more difficult.

[4] See http://www.census.gov/statab/www/states/ma.txt (9/25/97) for Massachusetts profile from U.S. Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstracts of the U.S.

[5] Including newcomers from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras.

[6] Including newcomers from People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia.

[7] Including 50% Vietnamese, 40% Cambodian, and 10% Laotian.

[8] Including newcomers from Portugal, Azores, Madeira, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique.

[9] Including newly arrived Benadirs.

[10] Procedures include the naturalization application, interview with the INS examiner, and swearing-in ceremony.

[11] "Mass Processings" or "Citizenship Days" refers to workshops sponsored by the Office of Refugees and Immigrants or refugee resettlement agencies for assisting the processing of N-400 applications. Trained volunteers provide "one-stop" service including fingerprinting, photographing, and help with completion of the naturalization application and supporting documents and legal consultation.

[12] U.S. immigration law did not distinguish between an immigrant and a refugee until after World War II. The United States refused to abandon or even temporarily soften the restriction quotas set by the Immigration Act of 1924 to allow in Jews facing persecution and genocide in the 1930s and 1940s in Europe. See Dinnerstein (1982) for the history of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, the first refugee legislation in the United States.

[13] The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 (Public Law 99-603) established procedures by which undocumented immigrants residing in the U.S. continuously since before January 1, 1982, could become legal permanent residents of the U.S. In Phase One of the amnesty process, eligible undocumented immigrants applied to become eligible legalized aliens (ELAs). The application for legal permanent resident in Phase Two involved proof of progress in subjects of U.S. history, civics, and basic English literacy. Evidence of competence in English and knowledge of U.S. history and civics could be a US high school diploma, GED, documentation of formal education study, or satisfactory completion of an INS-approved citizenship test. SLIAG programs offered basic adult literacy education in INS-approved civic /English literacy courses and Certificates of Satisfactory Pursuit (Terdy & Spener, 1990).

[14] According to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), Temporary Protected Status (TPS):

> Establishes a legislative base to the administrative practice of allowing a group of persons temporary refuge in the United States. Under a provision of the Immigration Act of 1990, the Attorney General may designate nationals of a foreign state to be eligible for TPS with a finding that conditions in that country pose a danger to personal safety due to ongoing armed conflict or an environmental disaster. Grants of TPS are initially made for periods of 6 to 18 months and may be extended depending on the situation. The legislation designated El Salvador as the first country to qualify for this program. Deportation proceedings are suspended against aliens while they are in Temporary Protected Status.

(http://www.ins.usdoj.gov/public/423.html 6/16/97.)

[15] WIC Stands for the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children. It is a federal program that provides nutritious food, individual counseling, nutrition education, and referrals to health care to high-risk, low-income women and children up to the age of 5.
(http://www.nawdconference.com/about.htm#whatis 6/15/97)

[16] In 1870, the Secret Order of the Knights of St. Crispin, the largest labor organization in the U.S. at the time, struck at the North Adams Model Shoe Company. The owner, Calvin T. Sampson, fired striking workers and brought in 75 Chinese workers from San Francisco. Capitalists throughout the East were impressed with the financial results of the Western Massachusetts manufacturer's experiment. A few years later in testimony to Congress, industrialists recommended that Chinese workers be allowed to receive temporary immigration status to work, and then return to China to be continually replaced by new migrating countrymen (Takaki, 1989). In regards to their naturalization, Charles Crocker of the Central Pacific stated:

> I do not believe they are going to remain here long enough to become good citizens,

He recommended:

> and I would not admit them to citizenship.

[Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration (as cited in Takaki, 1989, pp. 99-100)]

[17] The Parcel C debate in 1994-5 involved a 24,000 square foot development parcel earmarked for the Boston Chinese community. The Boston Redevelopment Authority had promised the parcel to Chinatown, and later sold it to New England Medical Center for construction of a parking garage. Grassroots community coalitions using a variety of protest tactics and the media, fought and won back the development rights (Kenney, 1995; McFarling, 1994; Walker, 1994).

[18] Hein (1995) noted that Cambodians usually respond to the question of how many people lived in their village, town, or city with the number of families, rather than the number of people. This is an indication that the basic unit of the community continues to be the family and kinship group rather than individual. The funding proposal for the Cambodian organization in Fall River also listed the number of families in addition to the number of individual Cambodians living in the Fall River area.

[19] A high incidence of psychological trauma is also documented in the Vietnamese adult population. See the 1989 Massachusetts Department of Mental Health report, Refugee Mental Health Needs Assessment: A Key Informant Study.

[20] Asian communities are victim to significantly higher percentages of hate crimes than other racial groups in Massachusetts (Chung, 1996).

[21] Problem-posing is an educational method based on dialogue that is used in empowerment-based pedagogy. The goal of problem-posing dialogue is critical thinking and active challenging of the forces in society which keep us passive. The starting place is the participants' lives and experiences. The first step is investigating the problems in a community; second is to identify and reflect on the sociohistorical causes of problems; and third is to move toward making decisions and taking action for change. Both facilitators and students are co-learners. The facilitator is responsible for listening to the participants and bringing in materials (called "codes") that represent the problems of their students to reflect on.

[22] On February 27, 1997, the Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy Coalition (MIRA) organized a strategy called "Immigrants Day at the State House." Over 1,000 immigrants from across Massachusetts attended the event and many presented testimonies on behalf of elderly and disabled immigrants at risk for losing federal benefits. This is just one example of MIRA's strategies and activities as planned by their organizing and policy committee composed of volunteers from immigrant communities across the state.

[23] See Kiang (1994) for a comparison of recent Cambodian community development with that of the Irish community in the mid-1800s. He also discussed the "Know-Nothing Party," a mid-1800s nativist political party that ruled Massachusetts politics in the mid-1850s. The party platform included limiting immigration and raising the naturalization period from 5 to 21 years. Among other activities, the party was active in revoking public funds for Irish parochial schools in Lowell.

[24] Franco-Americans are the second largest ethnic group after Irish-Americans in Massachusetts. They make up one-sixth of the population. Massachusetts is second only to Louisiana as home to Franco-Americans. See Brault (1986) for a history of Franco-Americans in New England.

[25] In 499 AD, a Chinese explorer named Hui-Shen returned from traveling across the ocean and documented a country called "Fu-Sang" which some scholars believe was America. In 1915, it was discovered that the Monterey cypress which only grows in northern California was identified as also growing in China. It was hypothesized that Hui-Shen planted the seeds of this Chinese tree in California.

[26] Chinatown surrounds Boston's zoned adult entertainment area or red light district, called the "Combat Zone." Although economic and political pressure have closed down many adult businesses, courts have upheld the rights of existing and additional proposed adult businesses in the area over protests from the Chinese and other communities (Chacon, 1996).

[27] The Pioneer Valley covers Franklin, Hampshire, and Hampden counties and the city of Springfield.

[28] Amerasians are the sons and daughters of American fathers and Vietnamese mothers born during the Vietnam War. In 1987, Congress passed the Amerasian Homecoming Act, leading to the increase of Amerasians arriving with their mothers and other family members or as unaccompanied minors. Springfield and Boston are designated resettlement cluster sites.

[29] Most federal civil service positions and some state and local civil service positions are limited to citizens. In some states, public safety positions (police, public school teachers) require citizenship or a filed "Declaration of Intent to Become a Citizen" form. Although this affects a very limited number of employment opportunities, a number of CDEP participants made comments such as seeking the ability to"...apply for any job I am qualified for."

[30] The term 1.5 generation refers to immigrants who accompanied their parents to the U.S. while in their early or middle adolescence. Their sociocultural and psychological characteristics are distinct from both the first generation of their parents and the second generation of their children.

CHAPTER 5

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION: DEFINITIONS, SKILLS, AND CONTEXTS

Democracy is not what we have. It's what we do.
(Center for Living Democracy, 1997, p. 1)

Introduction

In today's citizenship programs, the definition of citizen participation is expanding. There is no standard definition of citizen participation. When I began talking with directors, facilitators, and participants in the CDEP project, I identified that there were multiple definitions of citizen participation. In addition to definitions, CDEP stakeholders had very specific ideas about what skills were necessary to be active citizens. The environment, or contexts within which one participates as a citizen, was also consistently brought up.

The CDEP staff I interviewed in my pilot project were interested in the variations of stakeholder definitions of citizen participation. One American-born CDEP director in Fields Corner, Massachusetts, stated:

> I like that chunk of CDEP mandate getting people involved. How we define 'involved' is where I think we need to think about. It's not a luxury, but a vital thing. It needs to be done carefully and with a great deal of patience.

Facilitators and directors expressed interest in more ideas on how to incorporate definitions of citizen participation into teaching methods that worked in the environment of increasing participant numbers, changing composition of participants' educational levels and motivations, and decreasing resources. The same director quoted above added to his definition of citizen participation, "It [citizen participation] is involvement in an issue that concerns the individual. It can take many different forms. The challenge for me personally is HOW."

In this chapter, the definitions, enabling skills, and contexts of citizen participation are discussed. The three components that emerged within definitions of citizen participation were membership, responsibility, and action. Enabling skills most frequently mentioned were basic literacy/English/communication skills; getting/using/sharing information; critical thinking/decision making skills; and self-knowledge/self-esteem. While self-knowledge/self-esteem is not technically a skill, it is included in this category because, at some CDEP sites, self-esteem was nurtured through activities or strategies incorporated as components in the citizenship curricula. Contexts, or environments within which newcomers move, were broadly identified as multiple cultures/multiple identities, historical perspective, and opportunity. Figure 5.1 on page 119 presents these citizen participation components in a schematic diagram. In this chapter, each category is presented with illustrative quotes and discussion followed by examples of how these components are translated into curricula in various CDEP programs.

Definitions

It was difficult to filter definitions to exemplify one of the three components identified in definitions of citizen participation. Similar to the Equipped for the Future (EFF) research, examples of actions ranged from personal to collective and change-related outcomes ranged from personal to social or institutional. Learning was seen to begin with reflection on one's position as well as rights and responsibilities in the new society. The Lawrence proposal stated, "Active citizenship involves an understanding of self - how you relate, participate in, be informed, and change where necessary the political and social structure" (p. 4).

Participants, facilitators and directors alike agreed that citizen participation was not restricted to the "political" sphere. An American-born facilitator in East Boston saw

citizen participation as, "Know what's going on; relate it to your personal interest in community and get involved in it."

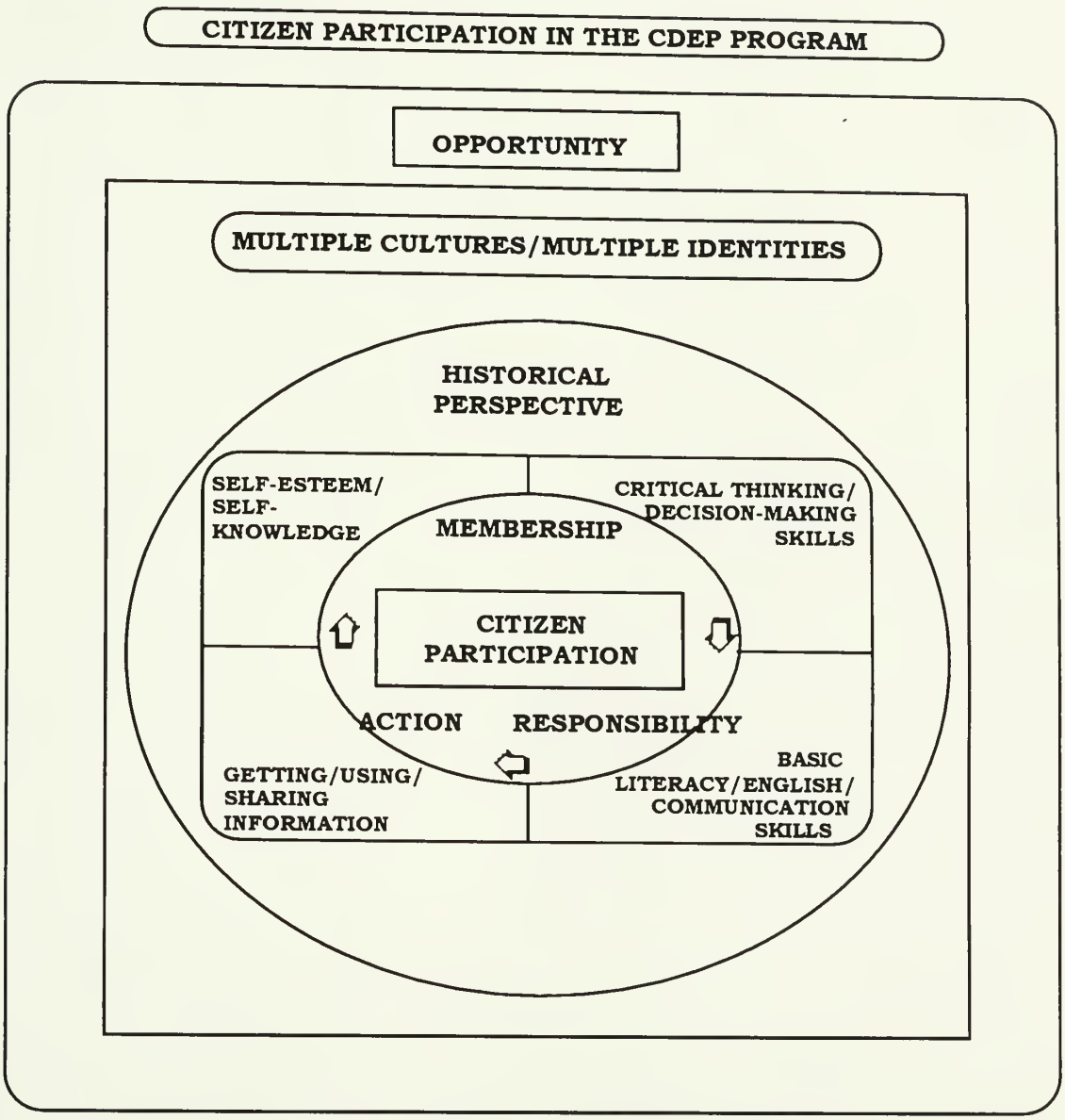

Figure 5.1. Schema Representing Citizen Participation in the CDEP Project

Membership

Many stakeholder's definitions involved the role of membership in a community. The Jamaican-born director in Dorchester offered perhaps the most succinct answer, "Playing your part in your society, that's it." An American-born

facilitator in New Bedford offered, "Broadly, one needs to define one's own community, then better that community. It doesn't need to be political in any way."

Many citizenship class participants stressed that one must be an active citizen in both the local ethnic community and the "American community." An elderly Russian-speaking male participant said that it was becoming part of and participating in "the whole American community, not just Russian community." The Cambodian-born CDEP director echoed, "they must be involved in all communities, not just Cambodian." The American-born director working with the Russian-speaking community at the Boston site emphasized, "They want to belong. They really do want to be part of the social life in the U.S."

Curricular Translations. At the Boston site, a newsletter sent to former program participants continued communication in communities formed in the CDEP classrooms. Articles kept people informed on classmates who had passed the written INS test or interview. Class lists and phone numbers were shared. The newsletter was also a medium to pass on information about naturalization procedures and legislative updates. Invitations to participate in letter-writing and other advocacy campaigns were included. Volunteer teacher aides were recognized and personal information on classmates with health problems or recoveries were also shared. Historical trivia, religious news and program announcements were regularly featured.

Responsibility

Responsibility intersected communities of family, neighborhood, workplace, country, and all the other communities in which the newcomers walked. A female participant from Trinidad at the Boston site gave the example of her role as chaperone and role model at the summer camp her children attend. A responsibility named a number of times by participants, facilitators, and directors was to stay informed about current events and politics in the U.S. Responsibility included being "educated." Elaborations ranged from "learning English" to knowing U.S. laws and the

contemporary "situations" in the country. Sharing that education with others was also frequently mentioned.

Directors, teachers, and participants all identified the responsibility of using one's unique skills for the good of the community. Also sharing one's knowledge with others in one's community. An elderly Dominican male participant in Lawrence stressed, "Give what you have to offer. Do your very best for your family and yourself, your country and your job."

The Dominican-born director of the Lawrence program stated:

> An active citizen works for 'bien common' [common good] of the community, thinking of all, if you give you receive. I feel sad when people are only concerned about themselves. It should be self, family, neighborhood and community.

Whenever a participant brought up working to make the future better for their children in group discussion, all other classmates invariably agreed. Some facilitators also echoed this. In Dorchester, the Jamaican-born director shared, "I start talk in the class about the consequences of not participating, a vision of their children's future if they don't participate. I think this is the most important because most of them are here for their children."

Curricular Translations. Helping others become citizens was listed as a form of citizen participation by some newcomers. A number of CDEP programs had facilitators, teacher aides, and program volunteers who were former CDEP participants. In addition to classroom assistance, volunteers did one-on-one tutoring, provided transportation to elderly participants, recruited new participants, did phone tracking of former participants, and returned as guest speakers to share their naturalization experiences.

Action

Most definitions included an action component. The American-born CDEP director at the Boston site defined citizen participation as "involvement, volunteering,

making a difference. It's standing up for things, taking a stand and taking action." An American-born facilitator in New Bedford stated:

> It would be somebody doing something for the good of all. And I think it could be in any way, political or any kind of hands-on helping the people. Standing up for one's own opinions and beliefs, becoming an actor as opposed to a spectator.

Many differentiated between political and nonpolitical. A Cambodian-born facilitator in Lowell said:

> Citizen participation means that you... it could be volunteering, it doesn't necessarily have to be political. It could be helping [the ethnic organization] whenever they have fundraising, or at a local church or temple, potluck dinners, whatever, or help clean up your neighborhood. It doesn't have to be registering to vote or attending political activities. It means a lot of things to different people. Being involved in the community basically sort of covers it. Whatever you do.

Curricular Translations. Examples of actions taken spanned a broad spectrum from hosting a food drive to conducting voter registration drives. All programs had, at one time or another, used letter-writing campaigns for various political or social advocacy activities. Issues targeted ranged from local - getting the street in front of the MAA plowed in winter (Dorchester); to state - protesting proposed cuts in ABE funding (East Boston); to federal - letters to President Clinton or State Senators and Representatives (Boston) sharing personal stories of how welfare reform would affect their communities. One class in New Bedford responded to an anti-immigrant editorial in the newspaper with a letter of their own, citing the benefits the Portuguese community had brought to New Bedford.

Skills

Just as it was difficult to filter definitions of citizen participation into one of three components; so it was hard to categorize how different curricular activities facilitated one of the four skills described below. Many activities fostered multiple facilities. Each skill supports and is dependent on the others. Critical thinking depends on self-esteem and believing in oneself and one's own sources of knowledge. Getting, using, and sharing information might require literacy and English skills.

English Language/Literacy/How to Communicate

Knowledge of the English language and communication styles expedites interaction in civic and noncivic arenas and supports civic participation. Citizenship education traditionally requires a special category of information and vocabulary required for citizenship exam. Weisburd (1994) suggested that the typical isolation of citizenship education content in specialized texts and courses "suggests a conceptual separation between civic life and a role in the formal political structure, and other 'relevant' lifeskills and language needed for daily communication" (p. 88). Citizenship education programs that focus on empowerment include English language skills and usage development. However, they also include issues of rights, safety, and power in communication activities such as writing a letter to the editor or their representative.

Curricular Translations. All sites in the CDEP project had documented a large increase in limited English proficiency (LEP) newcomers seeking naturalization services. Some sites utilized peer mentoring and the buddy system to pair more advanced and LEP participants together inside and outside of the classroom. In East Boston, an American-born facilitator discovered that some newcomers had memorized historical facts such as George Washington was the first president of the United States. However, they did not understand "Raise your right hand" for taking an oath of truth in the INS interview. Some had failed as a result. She developed a lesson plan illustrating and practicing the basic commands an interviewee encounters in the INS interview. In Lowell, special citizenship content-based ESOL classes were developed for elderly Khmer. The classes were offered in the comforting environment of a Buddhist temple. Many sites used references in the adult education newspaper, Change Agent, published by the New England Literacy Resource Center. This publication included articles with names and addresses of governors and delegates, guidelines for communicating with Congress, how to write a letter to the editor, public speaking, and real life examples

from adult education programs and community-based organizations across New England.

Getting/Using/Sharing Information

A young Vietnamese man preparing for citizenship identified an active citizen as someone "who is informed and ready to contribute." Most facilitators stressed that information on what was going on in the communities needed to be combined with practice in how to access, use, and share that information. Some discussed the need to practice advocacy skills and how to network and use "systems." Most participants stressed that they needed to know the structure of political, legal, and educational systems. A Dominican-born facilitator in Lawrence stressed:

> If you have information about and understand the political and school system, you can be a better citizen and parent. You can be of benefit not only to yourself, but also to your community, school and nation.

Respecting the life experiences and variations in educational experiences recognizes that information comes from many sources. Formal education is not necessarily more applicable. A Cambodian-born facilitator in Lowell said:

> They need to know about government and what kind of system, but then again they can do their own way and use their knowledge that they gained from different kinds of education. We let them know about agencies and resources available to help people do more than just volunteer in the temple or church. They have to know national and state government, especially local government, because local can lead to state and federal. And most have children so I explain how to be involved in the school and their child's education. Whenever there's something going on at school, we find out. In Lowell, 50% of schoolchildren are Cambodian. [The schools] usually don't have the staff to meet their needs. That's a small part.

Information and citizen action were seen as interconnected. The Jamaican-born director in Dorchester reasoned, "If they don't have information about what's really going on politically, then they will most likely think they don't need to do anything." She continued:

> I really consider it arming a disadvantaged group so they can defend themselves. So, for example, one thing I do in class is give out the names, addresses and phone numbers of the Massachusetts Discrimination Board, NAACP, because a lot of my students are getting

> discriminated against on their jobs. Most of them work as janitors or nurses aides, Their supervisors don't let them speak *Kreyol* at all on the job, not even with their colleagues. In class we discuss that their rights are being violated so if the problem is ongoing they can contact the discrimination board and I give them that information.

In a number of programs, classes wrote letters to the editors of newspapers after the papers had run anti-immigrant op-ed articles or cartoons. In those letters, the participants shared some of the context of their migration and highlighted examples of economic and cultural contributions to their neighborhoods.

Curricular Translations. In my own classroom practices in Springfield, citizen participation was seen as an opportunity to co-investigate[1] issues in our lives and then share our findings. One class decided to explore the myths and facts of immigration. Participants discussed the need to educate native-born Americans about immigrants to counteract negative stereotypes portrayed in the media. Methods and possible arenas identified for having such discussions included talking to co-workers in the lunchroom at work and talking to their children's teachers. Some participants went on to participate in cultural outreach activities with local ethnic organizations.

In the most recent class cycle I facilitated, the semester began with a problem-posing-based exercise to identify issues of concern among the participants. At first, few overlaps between participants were uncovered. Many with young children were concerned about the quality of their children's education. Others were working to sponsor relatives to join them in the U.S. Some were looking to create more time for their families to spend at home together. One older Polish male participant mentioned that he was contemplating whether to retire. In discussion on the issues and challenges presented in each concern, he mentioned that he didn't really know much about the Social Security system and that he needed to find out about how much money he was eligible to receive. He also expressed anxiety that he had heard co-workers discuss that funding for Social Security might be running out. Others in the class echoed that they had heard that the Social Security Administration might be bankrupt by the time they

retired. Others were unclear if Social Security, like Supplemental Security Insurance (SSI) was going to be limited or denied to immigrants. Everyone, no matter their age, wanted to know more about Social Security!

The class agreed that they would like to investigate the facts about Social Security. We began by listing what we needed to know. This included what is Social Security and Medicare (and how it is different from SSI and Medicaid); the future of Social Security; what were the benefits available; and how to find out an estimate of personal social security benefits. Next we brainstormed where we might obtain that information. Students and facilitators divided up information gathering tasks. Some went to the library and looked for magazine articles on the future of social security. Others asked for information from their employer's personnel office. Another person volunteered to look on the Internet. Another person called their local Social Security Office. The facilitator volunteered to find out about and get the forms to request earning and benefits estimate (most didn't know about this option). Some students felt they didn't have the skills for some tasks, such as the library research. For those willing, lower-level and higher-level students were paired for this out-of-class activity.

The next week we were surprised when an elderly female participant, who had difficulty walking, came in with ten pamphlets she had gotten at the Social Security Administration office in the nearby city. Over the next few weeks, we collected, read, and discussed the information brought to class. Half an hour of each two-hour session was devoted to this activity. U.S. history and the structure of the U.S. government was woven into the discussions. We discovered that prior to the 1900s, most Americans lived on farms and extended families provided economic security. The Industrial Revolution and the Great Depression were two major catalysts for the Social Security Act, signed into law by President Roosevelt on August 14, 1935. In 1956, the Social Security Act was amended to provide benefits to disabled workers aged 50 to 65 and disabled adult children. We learned that there were many changes and amendments

before The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 which limited federal benefits for most non-citizens. We discussed the reasons for such legislation. In exploring the history of Social Security, we discussed the system of the welfare state in the U.S. Participants reflected on and shared the governmental beliefs, policies, and systems their native countries had for the well-being of their citizens.

In class, we filled out and mailed Requests for Earnings and Benefit Estimate Statements. As part of that activity, the facilitator initiated a discussion on the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Many participants were unaware that members of the public can get documents from federal agencies based on this law. We learned that the FOIA was established to make the federal government accountable to the public for its actions and policies. We examined the various ways citizens exercise their rights and use the Act in every day life - to fight pollution, do historical research, lobby Congress and other purposes.

At the end of the semester, each participant had a folder of materials on Social Security and Medicaid as well as Supplemental Security Insurance (SSI) and Medicare. Participants had already begun to report conversations with family members, neighbors, and co-workers, sharing the knowledge they had gathered.

Critical Thinking/Decision-Making Skills

Directors expressed a range of opinions on the critical thinking skills participants brought with them into the CDEP project. In East Boston, the American-born director reflected, "Personally, I feel like the adult students who come here have critical thinking skills far beyond what I have. I am gaining critical thinking skills by being here." Conversely, in Springfield, the Haitian-born CDEP director stated:

> People [refugees] who come to the U.S. don't make the connection between the political repression and American intervention in their countries. So when they come here they are looking for safe haven and see citizenship as benefit for their well being and the possibility to stay in this country.

Critical thinking starts from identifying problems and strengths in our lives. Dialogue is used as a tool to transform social relations in the classroom, to raise awareness about social relations in greater society, and to recreate knowledge and the ways we learn. Through dialogic inquiry and problem-posing, critical problems are discovered in the adults' lives, represented back to them for analysis, and solutions and actions are decided upon. The goal is the development of critical thinkers who are activists for change in their lives and in greater society. Shor (1992) cautioned that dialogic education is a powerful educational tool but not an omnipotent one. He wrote:

> By itself, dialogic education cannot change inequality in society or guarantee success in the job market. But it can change the students' experience of learning, encouraging them to learn more and to develop the intellectual and affective powers to think about transforming society. (p. 111)

The American-born CDEP director in the Vietnamese community noted that critical thinking skills are a necessary prerequisite for community participation. The same director expressed, "We need to learn content critically and possess it." In this and many other communities, welfare reform had been a "code" identified by the participants that critical skills development had been developed around. He declared:

> Welfare reform creates a unique opportunity to relate citizenship and the contemporary and historical political climate. Because you've got something that clearly and directly and immediately affects their lives that the government has done and that there's a big uproar in the immigrant community. So there's a lot of potential to say OK, here's a good reason, why are you here in this citizenship education course? Did you lose benefits or know someone who did? Why did this happen? Is this fair? If it isn't fair, why not? What can be done about it? There is a lot of potential for developing dialogue.

Curricular Translations. A number of sites had used or modified the Right Question Project (Cohen, 1995; Santana, 1996) to practice questioning strategies in the citizenship education classroom. The RQP, which started on the local level in Massachusetts and has been replicated nationwide, developed and implemented educational and training strategies to increase participation in the democratic process. The goal is to build on the strengths of people who have traditionally been disengaged

from the key decision-making processes that affect their lives. The objectives of the training are to facilitate the acquisition of analytical and critical thinking skills that allow people and communities to (a) formulate their own questions, (b) analyze how decisions are made, (c) identify the impact of those decisions on their lives, and (d) determine how they can have a voice in shaping those decisions. Outcomes include development in peoples' abilities to advocate for themselves, participate more effectively in decision-making processes that affect them, and hold public institutions and decision-makers accountable.

At the New Bedford CDEP site, community issues that affected citizenship participants included a continued high unemployment rate and layoffs as manufacturing factories closed. A workshop based on the RQP model began with surveys and discussion on the question, "How secure do you feel about your job?" The next step was gathering information on numbers and names of factories that had closed. Inquiry and reflection on how the job market in New Bedford got to where it is now and why followed. Formulating questions to ask decision-makers was followed by identifying decision makers. Developing an action plan included inquiry into the question - "How can we contribute to a public debate?" Examples of activities the class took were writing letters to elected officials on all levels and inviting a state representative to class to ask the questions which they had generated. This action was tied in to content units on levels of government and how to reach decision-makers at those levels (Mueller & Williams, 1996).

Self-Knowledge/Self-Esteem

Knowing oneself involves understanding the beliefs, values, and related historical experiences that have influenced our lives, our images of citizenship, and our patterns of civic participation. Researchers, educators, and mental health professionals vary in their definitions of self-esteem. Brooks (1991) offered one broad definition:

> Self-esteem may be seen as based upon the feelings and thoughts that individuals possess about their sense of competence and worth, about

> their abilities to make a difference, to meet and overcome challenges, to learn from both success and failure, and to view themselves and others with dignity and respect. (p. 3)

Self-esteem includes feelings of individual efficacy. Political scientists such as Milbrath (1965) and Verba and Nie (1972) identified that individuals of higher social status generally have stronger civic orientations including concern for and information about politics and feelings of efficacy, which foster higher levels of political participation. In Dorchester, the Jamaican-born director considered "personal power" a prerequisite for taking action:

> [Newcomers] need awareness, political awareness, and a sense of personal power. Because even if you are aware, if you don't feel that you are able to do something about it you won't try. The students that are more secure in themselves and feel that they can stand up to people actually go out and make these phone calls. Whereas people who have low self esteem and don't feel that they can go out and do it, won't.

While self-esteem can't be "taught," a climate can be created that can help provide opportunities for participants to feel competent to participate as active citizens. Class reflection can examine and identify the unique strengths each person has to contribute to their society. Personal dignity is situated within each participants' own unique experiences and abilities. This includes language confidence. Over and over again, elderly participants expressed such feelings as "I'm too old to learn," "I can't learn English," "I can't remember things."

Curricular Translations. In Lawrence, facilitators, all newcomer community members themselves, invited participants to remember why they came, and to acknowledge burdens and expectations met and not met. This sharing illuminated mutual challenges that the group could reflect on and confront together. According to the Dominican-born CDEP director,

> Often people do not acknowledge their failures and barriers. The citizen education class can be a step by which they get beyond that, validate self-knowledge and reflect. The practice of reflection is where the best learning takes place and we model that process for students in the class. We need to help students to commit to why they're doing this [naturalization process].

Before each citizenship class cycle began, the CDEP director in Lawrence facilitated a self-esteem workshop in each class. The participants were invited to put into words why they wanted to become citizens, to try their best, to believe in themselves, and to look to their teachers who are from their own community. The reflection workshops began with the question - "What did your father used to tell you?" and "What advice for life did he give you?" An initial reluctance was often followed by a surge of emotions. The facilitator reminded the participants that it moves us to remember such tender moments and realize the past is over, but it is important to remember. Other questions included- "What were you doing before coming to the United States?", "Why did you come?", "How do you feel here?", and "Have you realized your dreams and desires?" Then all of these motivations were related to citizenship and how naturalization could support the attainment of the participants' dreams for themselves and families.

Contexts

Adults come to citizenship education classes with complex histories, knowledges, skills, challenges, and goals for the future. Their life-long learning takes place in environments that differ from those of native-born Americans. Skills for citizen participation are learned and practiced within the contexts of multiple cultures, identities and communities, historical perspective, and opportunity.

Multiple Cultures/Multiple Identities

Black immigrants are often identified politically and culturally with African Americans and an affinity is assumed. As black immigrants in the U.S., Haitians, Jamaicans, Ghanaians, and others from African and West Indian nations are faced with race-based prejudice as well as anti-immigrant prejudice. However, within and between these communities there are cultural, class, and gender-based differences that separate the communities.

In the Haitian community, one citizenship class attempted to facilitate dialogue and understanding between African American and other immigrant communities of color. The Jamaican-born CDEP director in Dorchester discussed the historical basis for cultural clashes between Afro-Caribbean immigrants and African Americans:

> Most Haitians and also myself find it hard to relate to African Americans because the cultural differences are so vast. As you know the people from the Caribbean have retained more of their African heritage because even though they were slaves, they were the majority. The masters and overseers were the minority. So they were able to retain more of their own culture, whereas African Americans retained nothing of their culture. So when they (Haitians) come here, they feel no more akin to African Americans than whites. The cultural hurdles on each side are very vast. One of the things I try to do when I show the Civil Rights tapes is to say that, look, don't be so critical of them, you came here armed at least with your self-identity. African Americans don't know who they are, for lack of a better phrase. You know your cultural background, you still retain part of your African language, and these African Americans are robbed of these things and what you see now is the end product. I try to impress this on them so they are less critical. They [African Americans] are trying to rediscover who they are. And I try to explain how slavery was different in America and in the Caribbean, the environment was different. They came from situations where slaves were 80 to 85%, whether open or in secret they were still able to continue practices that were a part of their African culture whereas a lot of these things weren't allowed to American slaves. I try to have them leave with a different perspective on who African Americans are.

She stressed her belief that it is important for newcomers to realize that behind the myth of the "self-made man" and individual achievement, is the reality of unequal opportunity.

Curricular Translations. In the Dorchester Haitian community, classes explored American history including people's movements. The Jamaican-born director, who also was one of the class facilitators, shared:

> I show every class "Eyes on the Prize"[2] when discussing the Civil Rights Movement. They are very shocked, they love it because they didn't know this aspect, they didn't even know it existed. It was difficult, for them to see, the atrocities, some cried, they couldn't believe this took place in the U.S., because people want to romanticize what American society is or isn't. I have to let them know that there is another side to it, where not everyone is treated equal. So in my classes I try to focus on telling the other side of the story. I always do. When we talk about the

Civil Rights Movement, I try to show them why it was necessary. I like to give both sides of the coin.

Multiple Communities

Newcomers vary in the degree of interaction with "mainstream" institutions and individuals not of their immigration background. An elderly Chinese woman or a restaurant employee can go about their daily existence in Chinatown and seldom have to interact with an English speaker. Contrasting this experience is the newcomer from the Former Soviet Union employed in an electronics company in Easthampton. He may only see other Russian-speakers and speak his native tongue at home or in synagogue.

CDEP programs used various means of opening interaction between newcomer participants and native-born Americans. The goal was for both sides to learn from and develop respect for each other. The citizenship class can be a forum for practicing dialogue and intercultural understanding in a safe environment.

Curricular Translations. In South Cove, tutors included those of Chinese ancestry and non-Chinese. The program had developed partnerships with a number of corporate and university volunteer programs. Tutoring pairs learned about citizenship and about each other simultaneously on an intimate one-on-one basis. Team teaching, such as was used in the Springfield program, modeled intercultural communication when the facilitators were of different backgrounds from each other.

In Lawrence, private school students in Spanish language classes attended citizenship classes to assist the facilitators, learn about their Spanish-speaking neighbors and share some of their own lives with the participants. Initial sessions were dedicated to students and citizenship class participants collaboratively identifying activities they would undertake together. Citizenship class participants practiced English with a variety of native speakers and the high school students practiced Spanish with native speakers. The high school students also reflected on the meaning of citizenship for themselves and newcomers and expand their language abilities on both a more practical and philosophical level. The program organizer stated that:

> Most Spanish classes learn about Spanish-speaking countries such as Spain and Costa Rica. When Spanish-speakers in the U.S. are discussed, it is usually Mexican-Americans that are focused on. This relationship with the Lawrence citizenship program has introduced the students to the Dominican community, whom most Americans are unaware of.

Historical Perspective

In Education for Critical Thinking, Freire (1973) stressed the difficulty of connecting the contemporary issues in our daily lives with their historical causalities. CDEP directors, facilitators, and participants cited the need for a knowledge of the past. Two facilitators also mentioned developing the ability to imagine the future. This includes both a sense of what the future can be and knowing what tools are available to create that future. Facilitators can provide the historical background which has contributed to the immigrants' current status in this country. How has democracy and citizen participation evolved since the founding of the country? What was the condition of newcomers in U.S. immigration history? What movements and tactics have the disenfranchised used to effect social change? Where are we today as a result? What victories have given us the rights we now enjoy? What challenges still need to be struggled against? In A People's History of the United States, Howard Zinn (1995) wrote:

> My viewpoint, in telling the history of the United States, is different: that we must not accept the memory of the states as our own. Nations are not communities and never have been. The history of any country, presented as the history of a family, conceals fierce conflicts of interest (sometimes exploding, most often repressed) between conquerors and conquered, masters and slaves, capitalists and workers, dominators and dominated in race and sex. And in such a world of conflict, a world of victims and executioners, it is the job of thinking people, as Albert Camus suggested, not to be on the side of the executioners. (pp. 9-10)

In telling history from the point of view of the oppressed,[3] Zinn censured grieving and romanticizing victims. The disclosing of hidden episodes of the past, rather, can emphasize and share examples of peoples' ability to resist, join together, and create new futures.

Curricular Translations. Many sites included studying examples of immigration history. An additional focus was on civic actions both in the past and contemporary social actions at the global, national, state, and local levels. Both the Chinatown and South Cove programs used the historical and contemporary examination of Asian American history to illustrate how the U.S. government and institutions function. Trials, juries, and the legal system, workers' rights, the creation and amending of legislation were all illustrated through specific examples. Case examples of Asian Americans' fights for rights not only created awareness of struggles of their forbears in attaining the rights the newcomers receive today, but also identified areas where advocacy was still needed today. A sense of historical community of Asians in the United States was also fostered. Following is an excerpt from the history portion of the Chinatown citizenship class curriculum (no date) and accompanying video:

> The first major period of Chinese immigration was between 1850 and 1882. Most of these immigrants hoped to send money to China and to build a better life. Jobs were limited to hard labor like mining, farming, and railroad building; these jobs offered no security and no protection of workers' rights. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act outlawed Chinese immigration to the United States, the first time any race was excluded by law. This act not only limited immigration, it also separated families and prevented Chinese communities from developing fully.
>
> Many Chinese organized to counter these discriminatory actions. In 1892, when the U.S. government demanded that all Chinese register as aliens, over 85,000 Chinese refused despite threats of deportation. The boycott was so successful that the government had to modify its policies. Later, Chinese who wished to immigrate discovered a loophole in the immigration policy and came to the U.S. under false names as "paper sons." The Exclusion Acts were finally lifted some 60 years later. In 1867, the federal government declared that Chinese immigrants could not apply for citizenship. Even American-born Chinese were not granted citizenship until 1884, following the successful court case of a Chinese American named Look Tin Sung. Numerous lawsuits were filed by Chinese Americans over the decades. It was not until 1943, almost 100 years after the first Chinese immigrants came to the U.S., that the right to naturalization was granted to Chinese immigrants. (no page number)

Opportunity

A number of participants voiced the desire to give something back to the country that is their new home; but didn't know how to as an individual. Others attributed their

limited English as a reason for not getting involved in the community. CDEP classes hosted by ethnic organizations, VOLAGs, community-based organizations, and community schools provided the resources, experience, and networking for collective citizen participation. A number of programs offered volunteer opportunities or membership within the organization. Events sponsored by the organization were open to members of the classes. Most organizations had advisory boards that citizenship program participants could join.

Curricular Translations. In the fall of 1996, One citizenship class in Springfield organized a "Community Speak Out" that linked all citizenship classes in Springfield with literacy classes and various ethnic organizations. The purpose of the event was to share newcomers' experiences and concerns with local government representatives. The city police chief, an immigration judge, state senators and representatives, and a Department of Transitional Assistance director were invited. Examples of topics included naturalization issues, neighborhood crime, and welfare and immigration reform. The agenda included greetings from invited officials, brief presentations from the community and class representatives, followed by dialogue on the issues and directions for change. Below is an excerpt from one citizenship class speech:

> Our concern is the citizenship swearing-in ceremony. We would like to have it done more often here in Springfield. It is said to be done 26 times per year in Boston and only 2 or 3 times per year here. We were also made aware of the fact that the wait between the interview and the swearing-in can be a long one. If the swearing-in is done more often here in Springfield, say at least 6 times per year, then the wait wouldn't be as long and we would be able to participate in making decisions and changes that would benefit and affect us and other fellow citizens.

There were a number of actions taken as a result of that meeting including an organized drive for more naturalization ceremonies in Springfield. The event was a catalyst for networking individuals, organizations, and government representatives.

In this curricular example, each class presentation represented a group of individuals who collectively went through a problem-posing process where they identified issues affecting their lives, explored causation and possible alternatives, and

pursued avenues for change. This was an empowering process in advocacy and collective leadership for many people. Speakers, most of whom had never made public presentations (English was the second language for most speakers and some were in the process also of becoming literate), also felt and expressed their feelings of pride and accomplishment. The Speak-Out also brought attention to the general public on some vital issues in the newcomers communities through television and newspaper coverage.

Discussion

In reflecting on the stories the CDEP stakeholders shared with me, my analysis focuses on definitions of community, the cross-cultural experiences of the participants, and spheres of citizen participation. Differences were found both between and within sites, directors, facilitators, and participants. The needs and responses of limited English proficiency (LEP) students need to be taken into special consideration. Finally I address the connection between citizenship education, citizen participation and people's movements.

"What is your community?"

During the pilot project, the term "community" was found to be a keyword in many definitions of citizen participation. For that reason, the question "What is your community?" preceded "What do you do in your community?" in the classroom focus groups and interviews. Explications of "community" included home or family, church,[4] place of employment, school, neighborhood, civic or neighborhood association, club, the city or town the participants lived in, Massachusetts, the United States and their citizenship class. Participants, facilitators, and directors all included "family." In regards to family, participants stated that "distance doesn't matter" and family was their most important community regardless of whether oceans divided them. Only a native-born American included "friends" as a category. In comparative discussions examining this question in the context of country of birth versus the United States, participants from Communist or previously Communist countries discussed that

the government ideology made the [Communist] Party the community of all the people, but that for many, this was "surface" only.

Exploring Cross-Cultural Experiences

One finding was the necessity to probe beyond simple listmaking of citizen participation activities, especially when discussing native country experiences. When asked what they did as active citizens in their native country, Polish participants in one class listed cleaning parks, shoveling snow off streets, and maintaining schools. Further into the discussion on motivations for these activities undertaken, they added that the then-Communist government "encouraged" citizens to perform such duties. This illustrated Ichilov's (1990) and others' assertions that totalitarian regimes often activate high levels of participation. This symbolic participation, however, is meaningless because of the absence of real political choice. The participants offered that America was different because "there is more money here" and "people get paid by the government to do such tasks."

In a predominantly Vietnamese class, such questions led to vigorous debate on countries which use taxes (i.e., the United States) versus countries that use citizen service (i.e., Vietnam) for public works labor. There had been a recent push in the U.S. for a return to "volunteerism" spearheaded by the Clinton Administration and its 1997 President's Summit for America's Future.[5] The underlying motives of this political campaign were astutely dissected in this discussion. A number of participants saw this campaign as another example of how social provisions in the U.S. are becoming the responsibility of the corporate and non-profit sectors rather than the government, a system quite unlike that in their home countries.

The participants' cross-cultural backgrounds offered experiences and insights that native-born Americans might not have to draw upon. One classroom project mentioned in this chapter explored Social Security and the structure of the welfare state. A number of class participants had migrated from agrarian or clan-based cultures.

These participants were very interested to learn about America's pre-Industrial Revolution period.

Spheres of Citizen Participation

In analyzing manifestations of citizen participation at the twelve CDEP sites, there appeared to be a heavy emphasis on non-electoral political activities such as circulating petitions, writing letters, discussion, and expression of opinions. Sociocivic activities were also considered by some organizations to be citizen participation. Examples of this included joining religious or ethnic membership organizations and participating in volunteer work such as food drives or soup kitchens. Representations across that spectrum additionally ranged from individual to collective manifestations. Some programs offered individual volunteer opportunities to class participants. Others organized group activities in and out of the classroom.

Citizen participation was broadly seen as something that affects the lives of the participants and their communities. The personal was often stressed over the political. A typical response was that of the American-born education director in Springfield, "just getting involved with something that is personally meaningful in the community." While voting[6] was identified in a number of focus groups, examples such as helping neighbors were just as common. The American-born CDEP director in East Boston voiced:

> A lot of what I hear from these students is, "I've gotten a lot from this country. I want to give back. I didn't know how to speak English a few years ago when I first came here. Now I do and I want to help other more recent newcomers." It ends up being more personal, not "I want to affect the political process."

From that same site's funding proposal, the purpose of participation was identified as, "encouraging community involvement and collaboration provides residents with a sense of ownership and investment in their new community" (p. 11).

Limited English Proficiency Students

Although a population with limited English proficiency requires a more intense focus on content material and language skills, citizen participation can still be practiced in the classroom. For example, programs that used peer or buddy mentoring were modeling and practicing community-building and service. However, it must be noted that some of sites reported that their current participant population with more LEP and elderly had responded more favorably to a rote-memory, grammar-based pedagogy. They often dropped out of classes which didn't provide a learning environment with which they were familiar or comfortable. Some sites modified or dropped original participatory curricula as a response.

Another consideration was location and environment. Some LEP students felt intimidated by a formal education-style classroom. Others were wary of "institutional" appearing buildings. The CDEP programs made sincere efforts to offer classes in a number of different locations including temples, community members' homes, senior centers, and community-owned businesses in addition to classes on site.

Differences between Sites, Directors, Facilitators, and Participants

All interviewed agreed that the only kind of citizen participation that was exclusively open only to naturalized citizens was voting. There was overlap and concurrence between facilitators' and participants' definitions. However, one difference of distinction was that administrators, directors, and facilitators tended to offer ideological definitions encompassing categories of service or identity. Participants more often gave concrete examples of pro-social behaviors or actions - PTA, coaching, bake sales, crime watch, join neighborhood association, shovel snow for elderly, volunteer in their church, recycling. These take place in what Boyte and Lappé (1990) termed "public life," the "arena in which people learn, deliberate, argue, and dialogue with others in the search for solutions to common problems" (p. 418). Public life offers opportunities to develop mutual respect and accountability with different kinds of

people. Enhanced dignity and personal well-being can also be fostered by participation in "public life."

Participants also gave examples that encompassed rights and responsibilities of citizenship such as registering to vote, performing jury duty, obeying laws, fighting in the armed forces, and running for office. Many participants listed "knowing the laws, obeying the laws" as kinds of citizen participation. One 75-year-old Vietnamese woman energetically stated, "If I need to, I will fight for this country."

Administrators in organizations with advocacy "mandates" leaned slightly more towards political advocacy. The workers' rights association in Chinatown defined citizen participation as "knowing rights, advocating, and educating." Examples of participation activities at that site included State House trips, minimum wage victory celebrations, and letter writing to legislators on the subject of welfare reform. On the other end of the spectrum, one American-born facilitator in Fields Corner stressed the overburdened lives of her students and how difficult it was to undertake out-of-class activities. She stated, "I have a problem with everyone expected to go out and protest."

In one predominantly Spanish-speaking class I visited, I facilitated a group discussion on definitions and skills of citizen participation. Input included volunteering to help newcomers, jury duty, letter writing, voting, and working in their churches. The teacher present prodded the class to include attending MIRA's Lobby Day and a health project in the adult education center as citizen participation activities in which they were involved. One of the students at the beginning of the class had brought in a flyer to share with the class about how people could fight the Massachusetts English Only Bill (H. 3132.) . However, in group discussion on citizen participation, no one mentioned it. I later asked the man if he thought sharing this information with his classmates was a kind of citizen participation and he replied "yes."

Citizen Participation and People's Movements

The INS exam focuses on institutions, laws, and individuals rather than social movements and tactics used in the struggle for freedom and equality. Some CDEP programs offered a more holistic version of history by incorporating the people's efforts, and their participation in the development of unions, the Abolitionist movement, the Women's Suffrage Movement, the Civil Rights Movement, the Women's Liberation Movement, the Welfare Rights Movement, and the Environmental Movement.

Mechanisms for collective action that have been used to affect national change were explored in examination of those movements. Local movements in the participants' own communities, such as the Parcel C debate in Chinatown, were also analyzed in class discussion and investigation. Participants were often more surprised that these conditions of inequality existed in American "democratic" society in such recent history, than at the forms of civil disobedience taken by some Americans in these movements.

The opportunities and challenges women, African Americans, and newcomers have faced are important historical lessons. Because cooperation is a learned skill, models of how people have come together for collective reflection, decision-making, and action are useful. Equally important is for citizenship program participants, facilitators, and directors to ask what are the opportunities and challenges newcomers face in becoming active, effective, and equal citizens. Chapter 6 looks at some answers to that question.

Notes

[1] This empowerment-based citizenship class used participatory research methodology. Participatory research has been defined as a process combining research, education and action (Fals Borda & Rahman, 1991; Hall, 1981; Maguire, 1987; Park, et al., 1993; Tandon, 1988) John Gaventa (1988) offered one definition:

> Participatory research attempts to break down the distinction between the researchers and the researched, the subjects and objects of knowledge production by the participation of the people-for-themselves in the process of gaining and creating knowledge. In the process, research is seen not only as a process of creating knowledge, but simultaneously, as education and development of consciousness, and of mobilization for action. (p. 19)

[2] Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years 1954-1965, is an Emmy Award-winning documentary series chronicling the American Civil Rights Movement. It was produced and directed by Judith Vecchione for Blackside Films.

[3] Also see Takaki (1993) for an example of a history book about multicultural American history that used the words and perspective of immigrants as opposed to the standard Eurocentric view of history model.

[4] According to the General Social Survey, a national-sample survey repeated 15 times in the last 20 years, church-related groups are the most common type of organization joined by Americans (as cited in Putnam, 1995).

[5] See Newsweek's April 18, 1997 (v.129 n.17) edition for an example of discussion in popular media on volunteerism, charities, corporate sector, and government's role in provisions and responsibility for social services provisions in the U.S.

[6] Harles (1993) suggested that voting by newly naturalized populations is often more of one of the "ritualistic displays of civic virtue" that newcomers engage in rather than an activist political act. This uncritical patriotism is part of what he termed, "politics of the lifeboat."

CHAPTER 6

OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES TO NEWCOMERS' CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

> *There is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process.*
> (Arnstein, 1969, p. 216)

Introduction

Examining the opportunities and barriers to newcomer citizen participation is a necessary step towards developing educational initiatives that promote active citizenship. CDEP participants, facilitators, and directors identified a number of internal and external opportunities and challenges that affect the active citizenship of newcomers. This chapter discusses the opportunities and challenges identified with examples and voices from CDEP programs across the state.

Opportunities

The community-based citizenship class can be a supportive community for dialogue, reflection, and action around identity and roles, and rights and responsibilities of citizens and citizens-to-be. Newcomers embody multiple knowledge sources, perspectives, and insights. Through participation in a citizenship education program, they can meet and act with others who have the same interests and needs. Other opportunities that promote citizen participation among newcomers are the support of community-based organizations who know the community's needs, have bilingual/bicultural staff, have established trust, offer holistic service delivery, are entry points into the community for the ethnically and linguistically isolated, include community development as their organizational mission, and have extensive networks for effective citizen participation activities.

Multiple Perspectives

Newcomers bring new insights, skills, and experiences to the meaning of citizenship and the participation needed to maintain a democratic society. The Springfield funding proposal offered:

> Perhaps the most important aspect of a citizenship and democracy education project is putting into action the gift which newcomers bring to their new homeland: a fresh perspective on the meaning of citizen participation and fresh energy in community awareness and appreciation of difference. (p. 3)

The Haitian-born CDEP director at that site, believed newcomers don't take citizenship for granted:

> For refugees who come to the U.S. and become citizens, they arrive as "stateless." They have lost the country of their birth. Those Americans born here don't necessarily value citizenship. Newcomers do value citizenship, they know the differences between citizenship and respect what benefits they get as U.S. citizens.

Relationship Building Through Common Experiences and Needs

Conway (1990) suggested that promoting group activity in civic education would promote higher levels of effective participation. However, there is a danger in "interest groups" or individuals who come together to serve their own narrow self-interests. Many interest groups foster an "us versus them" mentality. Even when people come together defensively around common causes, the groups are comprised of conflicting points of view, vested interests, and factions or subgroups. Interest groups also run the risk of exclusively grounding actions within limiting identities such as race, class, gender, or other appellations.

Periods or acts of discrimination or anti-immigrant initiatives have been the impetus for collective organizing and activity within and across ethnic communities. Enloe (1981) termed this interest "politics of reaction." It is commonly said that politics gets personal when it hits close to home. In Dorchester and other Boston neighborhoods, racism had united the Haitian community on an instrumental level. According to the Jamaican-born director:

> They come from such a volatile political background. They come here and because they have a different force coming at them, where they aren't being forced to choose one or the other, like back home, I think it's easier for them to come together. In Somerville, there were a lot of Haitians being discriminated against with housing. People had crosses burned on their front lawn and a whole host of other awful things and they came together as a community to fight this. Now whether they would go off together every weekend to have lunch together, your guess is as good as mine. But I think they will come together as a community when necessary.

Within the four components of the American creed - individualism, equality, participatory democracy, and freedom - it is the final feature that immigrants often value, and stand up for, the most. In one CDEP class in Springfield, students were asked questions on what were their rights in the U.S. Some Russian-speaking participants listed the rights to travel and speak any language in addition to the standard list of free speech, religion, a fair trial, and other protections in the Bill of Rights. Collective activism documented in the communities represented in this research leaned more towards social causes that impinged on various freedoms such as equality in the quality of education in their children's schools. Language disputes, such as support or protest of bilingual education programs were common.[1]

Lappé and DuBois (1994) differentiated between self-interest and selfishness. They defined self-interest as the things we care about, our values and passions in our lives at home and in the greater community. They believed that one can't define or achieve one's self-interests without interacting with others. They used the term "relational self-interest" to describe the self-interest of effective citizens. Working and learning together can develop appreciation and respect of differences and our interconnectedness and develop more meaningful interaction and relationship.

A sense of community can develop within the citizenship class itself. Some participants expressed appreciation to be with others going through the naturalization process. One Guatemalan woman talked of learning about the naturalization process, history, and current events with her new ""brothers and sisters." Citizenship class

participants in Springfield came to see the process of naturalization as a classroom community goal, rather than a personal challenge. In my Springfield class, an elderly Canadian woman was rapidly losing her eyesight as a result of diabetes. In the middle of the semester she was no longer able to drive. Her classmates, newcomers from Jamaica, Ghana, Germany, Tibet, and Poland collaborated to ensure she had rides to classes and also to the citizenship test. This was a micro-example of caring relationships creating a culture of shared responsibility, which Lappé and DuBois (1994) suggested is at the heart of a participatory democracy.

Use of Ethnic and Community-based Organizations as Citizenship Service Providers

The organizations in the CDEP project had become involved in offering citizenship programs as part of their missions to empower newcomer communities. Ethnic and community-based organizations, community schools, and VOLAGs were effective sites for citizenship education with citizen participation components for a number of reasons.

Knowledge of Community Needs. All of the sites in this research had been serving their communities for many years prior to offering a CDEP program. The majority of their staff and board members were people from the communities they served. The MAAs and workers' rights organizations were membership organizations. The organizations themselves had been founded in response to the needs of the community.

Bilingual/Bicultural Staff. Staff from the communities of the participants often had greater personal understanding of challenges to citizenship and active participation. They were more familiar with culturally appropriate outreach strategies, teaching methodologies, and counseling techniques. Utilizing community teachers served multiple purposes at various sites. Facilitators themselves were participating in community development or citizen participation. They saw themselves as role models

for self-esteem issues and illustrating effective action for self and community empowerment. They were often modeling democratic gender, generational, and class roles as well. The directors and facilitators interviewed all stressed that they shared examples and lessons learned from their own migration and naturalization experiences as part of class dialogue.

Some sites used community volunteers exclusively. The Dominican-born director in Lawrence emphasized that community facilitators were recruited who would "put their head and heart into it." She stressed, "They are not just *profesoras* teaching only materials but *maestras* who impart everything." These community facilitators came from all walks of the community, but many were social service professionals or teachers who worked with Headstart, Department of Public Health, in nursing homes, or with youth. They had families and often more than one job. They came to classes well-dressed out of respect for the participants. They often knew the participants outside the classroom from church or their children went to the same schools. Some had not yet been in the United States long enough to have attained citizenship for themselves.

Established Trust. Community organizations who had served the community over time were seen as reliable sources of information on the naturalization process and the benefits of being an active citizen. They modeled how to participate more fully in democratic processes and demand resources to which the community is entitled.

Holistic Service Delivery/Comprehensive Range of Services. Sites made available the full complement of social services of their agency to the citizenship class participants. Assessment, information, referrals, and educational programs were provided to identify and resolve current health, family, and educational challenges that might impede progress towards citizenship. Services which participants were offered at CDEP sites included ESOL instruction, translation, general advocacy, counseling and substance abuse treatment, access to daycare, and support services for family members. Many sites encouraged CDEP participants to continue their adult education in other

programs (such as ESOL) in the agency after completing the naturalization process. Some sites offered incentives such as preferred placement (circumventing long waiting lists) in adult education programs for those who completed the CDEP program. The CDEP programs also offered continued personal support in pursuing the naturalization process and referrals to immigration lawyers after the participants completed their citizenship class.

Entry Points for Linguistically and Ethnically Isolated Populations. Gozdziak (1988), McNeely and Colen (1983), Tran (1990, 1992), Weinstein-Shr (1989a, b) and others have discussed newcomer elders' limited English language ability. One consequence is isolation and dependence on family for daily needs and interaction outside of the home. In the CDEP project, ethnic or community-based organizations or schools were entry points into the greater community for those ethnically and linguistically isolated.

The recent increase in elderly pursuing citizenship as a result of welfare and immigration reform presented many challenges for citizenship service providers. They developed low-level curricula and created "pre-citizenship literacy classes" for this population. Information on legislative changes and how they affect individuals had to be translated into understandable form. However, some providers also identified the tremendous opportunity this situation created in terms of reaching out and bringing together this often marginalized population of elderly immigrants. This population was traditionally much more likely to utilize resources of ethnic organizations than American social service agencies.

Agencies' Community Development Mission. A key element of community development is a high level of community participation. The CDEP citizenship education programs had the goal of educating for and promoting community participation. This served the agencies' community development goals and objectives as well as facilitated the empowerment of their constituency. Many sites stressed that

increased citizen participation benefited the agencies and enhanced the agencies' ability to achieve their mission of improving the conditions of their community.[2]

In addition to practical activities illustrating how U.S. systems and institutions work, activities were also offered that increased understanding of the functions of community-based organizations. Organizations modeled communication with governmental structures and elected officials in their roles of representing and advocating for the needs and concerns of their population. Members sat on various corporate and community boards and councils and acted as liaisons with governmental offices, hospitals, and police departments.

Interorganizational Collaborations. All sites used collaborations to provide additional program support. Many sites used university community outreach resources. Dorchester had collaborated with a local university bilingual education graduate studies program to design and implement bilingual teacher training and community literacy projects. Fields Corner also used a college student volunteer program. New Bedford combined a community-based organization which recruited and provided naturalization counseling with a workplace education project at a local university that provided the citizenship preparation classes. Springfield recruited and trained volunteer teachers through a literacy volunteer network. Lowell used teachers who were members of a voters' league.

The resources and networks of the sites offered many opportunities for CDEP participants to volunteer in culturally relevant and personally significant ways. The American-born CDEP director at Fields Corner stated:

> We [citizenship classes] often piggyback onto the advocacy events the organization sponsors. Citizenship class participants learn from other, more politically active community members and have a chance to practice what they have been discussing in class.

Citizenship participants in East Boston participated in a community health project. At the Boston site, participants helped translate welfare reform information

into Russian. In Lawrence, participants formed a Hispanic Democratic coalition and held rallies to raise awareness of election issues and immigrant rights. Some sites pooled resources for conducting participation activities such as voter registration drives or community forums. Those with testing licenses sent testing representatives to fellow agencies to administer the INS test. Many CDEP sites collaborated on advocacy activities such as participating in Lobby Day at the State House. A number of sites collaborated with each other on non-citizenship program initiatives such as a construction skills training program for Vietnamese and Haitians.

Challenges

Newcomers who have been politically socialized in a variety of societies often have an inadequate knowledge base about the purpose and mediums of citizen participation in the U.S. Many experience feelings of fear, futility, alienation or mistrust in the system. Where a newcomer lives also has an effect on spheres and levels of participation. Newcomers encounter racism, anti-immigrant sentiment, paternalism and resistance to power redistribution. Class, gender and generational issues must be considered. Some are faced with language and literacy challenges. Ethnic loyalty and identity issues must be resolved. Economic, family, and social service demands must be met.

Political Socialization

Political socialization was broadly defined by Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977) as, "the process through which an individual acquires his particular political orientations - his knowledge, feelings and evaluations about his political world" (p. 33). Under that definition, a number of barriers related to a lack of a cultural frame of reference can be included.

Fear or Lack of Confidence in Interacting with Institutions and Figures of Authority. Hoskin (1989) wrote of the political socialization of adult immigrants:

> Even when the focus is on adults, the immigrant presents a mixed case. Unlike most adults, he is not just extending the natural political

> orientations of his childhood. Rather, he faces the challenge of reconciling old expectations and loyalties with a new political environment. Since he is new, and often insecure within that environment, however, the process may be more similar to that experienced by children: authority looms large, information is scant, behavioral involvement seems remote. (p. 345)

The fear of reprisal as a result of political participation includes not only fear for a newcomer's own welfare in America, but also for his family back in the native country. The Haitian-born director of the Springfield CDEP program observed:

> I see that with some groups, like Russians and also I heard this is also a situation with Bosnians. By signing their name on a petition they don't know where this paper is going to end. So if they are not explained what is the purpose of these papers and who is going to have access to these papers, they are very reluctant to sign such papers. They know the political situation in their home country. Even though they are here in America, they still have close ties in their homeland. By signing the paper, this paper may cause problems with their relatives abroad and they don't want to do that unless it is clearly explained what is the purpose of such a piece of paper and who is going to have access to it. And going to state offices to talk to an official, very often they see the state office as a representation of the political system of the country they came from because this was part of the establishment of the government. They are very reluctant to go to state offices and sign papers, they have experience that this was how they were persecuted through these offices.

The Dominican-born CDEP director in Lawrence talked of how the Dominican Republic was ruled by a dictator and the people oppressed into silence. She stressed the need to compare political systems before the group can take any action. At first it seems to many not safe to question the system.

Another challenge in encouraging citizen participation was dealing with feelings of cynicism about government that were a result of previous experiences with the governments of the newcomers' home countries. The Boston proposal argued:

> Perhaps the most significant barriers to citizenship for people who were born and raised in the former Soviet Union are cynicism and a lack of information about the benefits of citizenship participation and involvement in the democratic process. Russian refugees are most familiar with the authoritarian style of government and bureaucracy. Many of these newcomers do not believe that becoming citizens and participating in the democratic process will change the quality of their daily lives. Instead they remember that they voted in the Soviet Union for a predetermined field of one. "Citizen participation" there was meaningless and the government was not in the business of protecting individual rights. The notion of "grassroots" participation and the ability

> to influence change is not part of the experience of our target population. (pp. 12-13)

In Dorchester, the Jamaican-born director observed:

> Most of them seem to be extremely disenchanted with politics as a whole. You know they've been in Haiti, in situations where there was so little they could do. Now they are here and American politics seem to be even more threatening so its almost an aura of powerlessness that I always notice in all my classes. So I say, OK, you don't have to move a mountain, but take care of yourself. That's why I individualize it, you know, worry about your community, your group, instead of trying to make a huge difference that most of these activities suggest.

Standard citizenship education curricula often suggest a "field trip to city hall" as a citizen participation activity. Some CDEP sites found that their participants were uncomfortable or overwhelmed by such activities. Some sites revised the activity so that a legislator would visit the class for an informal discussion with the participants. Later the class would visit her at her office in the government building. The students expressed that they were more comfortable visiting an individual they had already met, rather than visiting a political institution.

Lack of Understanding the Representative Democratic Governmental System. There was often a lack of understanding of how the democratic process worked and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.[3] The Springfield proposal stated:

> Citizenship without democracy is a meaningless form. Unless they are provided with a thorough grounding in the tenets of a democratic republic, people who come to this country from communist or other totalitarian regimes routinely attach old meanings to the new structures they encounter here. If, for example, you come from a country where votes were routinely bought, the concept of a free secret ballot to elect public servants is almost unimaginable. A successful CDEP will keep this most significant internal barrier in mind when designing its approach. (p. 3)

This is especially true for those newcomers who come from non-democratic countries. In Lowell, a Cambodian-born facilitator gave the example:

> A lot of the elders have experienced things in Cambodia. They were never really encouraged to participate. You know our government is a dictatorship, only the privileged few allowed any power. Never really an

> open election, never really a democratic process. So they are not aware of how the American political process works.

Additionally, the benefits of citizenship and citizen participation were not self-evident. Lowell wrote in it's proposal:

> There are misunderstandings and misconceptions about citizenship among the Cambodian people of Lowell. Some believe that citizens are subject to military draft while other think that a citizen receives a harsher sentence if convicted of a crime. (p. 10)

Finally, there was misinformation on current political and social issues which would encourage newcomers to acquire citizenship or advocate for their rights. East Boston offered an example of newcomers unsure of their rights as residents of the U.S. In a class discussing the Constitution, the facilitator elicited participants' experiences with rights in the United States. Some shared personal or observed experiences with the police. Most of the class believed that if a policeman knocked on the door, you must always let them in, whether they had a warrant or not. Some had heard of warrants, but weren't sure what they were.

"Cult of Gratitude". A Dominican-born facilitator in the Lawrence program believed that many Dominicans felt any questioning of the economic or social system was expressing inappropriate ingratitude. She stated:

> Sometimes I think some people in this community feel it's not polite to speak out against the government or school. Some feel they should be grateful for being able to live and work in America and their kids get a better education than they could get back home and they don't want to complain.

In a Springfield class, a Colombian man wrote in an essay:

> I feel too much gratitude for this country because I have the opportunity to find a job and to give support to my family. In this country, the people don't like troubles and want to live peacefully. They are good citizens.

Tumin (1957) coined the term "cult of gratitude" to describe the uncritical allegiances of immigrants as compared to native-born Americans. He postulated that it was accompanied by an unawareness or ignoring of the efforts and struggles that have created the present opportunities for economic and social advancement. Harles (1993)

suggested that for newcomers, understanding of democratic theory was less important than unqualified patriotism - a "politics of the lifeboat." The result being a quiescent civic allegiance of newcomers to the country that sheltered them from the social, political, or economic persecution that they endured in their home country. Harles (1993) found that Laotian refugees in the U.S. not only do not participate in American politics, but believe that they should not participate. Political demands were seen as a lack of appreciation and criticism of the government which they were not willing to present. Many newcomers come from societies where social ranking is accepted. An inequality in social relations is an acceptable price to pay in return for sanctuary for some newcomers.[4]

Another influence was the image of political activism, or lack of it, as presented by native-born Americans. To recall the sentiment of the Cambodian-born facilitator who grew up with an American foster family (see p. 108 for full excerpt), "So I know that my American family, they are middle class family, so political participation was not the greatest. They didn't really get into that too much." Participants in a Springfield class expressed the belief that Americans were only interested in making money, not "getting into politics." No research participant identified backlash against ethnic-based interest groups as reasons for not being conspicuously politically activist. However, some participants mentioned that they thought Americans strongly opposed "affirmative action." A number were concerned with the image that newcomers received monetary payments, and training benefits not available to native-born residents.

Enclaves versus Geographic Dispersion[5]

Refugees and immigrants with less education and skills commonly live amongst their native country people in the U.S. In these ethnic enclaves, such as Chinatown in Boston, an immigrant can spend his whole life without having to speak English or interact with non-Chinese. The "institutional completeness" of the presence of

businesses, social and human services, social and religious organizations and activities, hinders interaction with the English-speaking community outside of the enclave. The opportunity to examine and interact with non-countrymen's customs and values can be limited or lost. The Chinatown proposal wrote, "The Chinese community has a reputation of being an insular community, not likely to seek help from others, attempting to solve community problems within the community" (p. 11).

The challenges to citizenship providers, according to the Cambridge proposal, included:

> The majority of resident aliens belong to self-contained, self-reliant communities defined by language and national origin. These networks are marginalized and often actively discriminated against by mainstream culture and institutions, contributing to their isolation. For their members, however, they provide access to many of the social and economic necessities of life. As a result, refugee and immigrants - especially those with limited resources - may experience great difficulty in stepping outside their protective ethnic communities, or in taking steps which may symbolize or actually challenge their group membership. If newcomers are to become active citizens, the two forms of community - the ethnic social network and the broader stream of American public life - must be brought together in ways which acknowledge the rewards and demands of both. (pp. 1-2)

Conversely, professional, well-educated immigrants who have entered the U.S. under category preferences in the 1965 Immigration Act[6] tend not to join or form ethnic enclaves and become physically distant from co-ethnics (Gold, 1992; Kim, 1981; Portes & Manning, 1986). For the well-educated newcomer living among non-country people, the physical distance from other co-ethnics prevents participation within that community. They can choose to participate in citizen participation in a variety of non-ethnic mediums or be passive residents or citizens. However, some researchers (Hein, 1994; Portes, 1984) have concluded that newcomers with higher educational background and longer residence in the United States have the strongest perceptions of discrimination in the greater American society, which limits participation.

Discrimination

Discrimination and violence towards newcomers is certainly not new to American immigration history. A number of students talked about their personal

experiences with discrimination from native-born Americans. Some participants had been victims of white hate crimes. One Cambodian man told of having been beaten by a group of white teenagers and then moving to another town out of fear.[7] A report solicited by the Governor's Asian American Commission (Chung, 1996) identified the municipalities of Boston, Springfield, Cambridge, Somerville, Lowell, Worcester, Fitchburg, Amherst, Fall River, and Lawrence as areas in Massachusetts where hate crimes against Asians are most likely to occur.

It is not just with Anglo native-born Americans that conflict occurs. In Dorchester, where tensions run high between the African American community and the more recent Vietnamese community,[8] an elderly woman told me she encountered "prejudice" all the time. This led to a discussion on scapegoating. She stated, "They [members of the African American community] get mad at us just because we have businesses and work hard."

Interethnic conflict is based in social, cultural, and economic beliefs. Anti-immigrant feelings often revolve around mistaken beliefs that newcomers take jobs away from "Americans." A number of Americans believe that a high percentage of newcomers are on public assistance[9] and receive other special assistance and economic benefits from the government.[10]

Some participants mentioned that the discrimination they received or saw is not much different from the oppression they faced in their countries of origin. CDEP participants from Haiti in one class discussed the August 1997 torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima by New York City police (Beals & Bai, 1997). They voiced their perception that police in the United States were sometimes not that different from the Duvaliers' private army of Tonton Macoute. At the Boston site, a Russian male participant compared his INS interview, including questions if he had ever used a prostitute or been a habitual drunkard, to interrogation by the KGB.

For young adult newcomers, disenfranchisement and apathy are feelings developed from experiences of discrimination and limited opportunities in the U.S. Some Indochinese, for example, arrived in the U.S. as young children who spent their early years in refugee camps. They might never have had contact with the culture of their parents and might have lost their native language. In the United States, they are often not accepted as Americans and face limited opportunities. Anomie is the result of those who lack a strong cultural identity within their parents' culture yet are prevented from full participation in the country whose culture they have absorbed during their formative years.

Interethnic conflict is also common between different newcomer groups. A variety of reasons are cited. Historical animosity existing between newcomers' native countries often continues in the environment of the resettlement country. Conflict between Cambodian and Vietnamese communities has been documented. Racism and ethnocentrism also exist among newcomer communities. Some sites reported difficulties in mixed classes of white immigrants and immigrants of color such as Russians and Indochinese.

Class

There were significant class differences between and within each newcomer community. Espiritu and Ong (1994) suggested that a postwar relaxation of racial oppression has both strengthened minority politics and weakened socially constructed bonds of racial solidarity. Class polarization has resulted from the combination of economic access that some sectors of the community have access to and the dichotomous nature of post-1965 immigration.

Class often determined the needs and interests of the CDEP participants. For example, welfare reform and retaining benefits, which were often identified as the major impetus for the recent rush for citizenship, had affected some communities more than others. According to the German-born CDEP director in New Bedford, the mostly

Portuguese participants that came to citizenship class had been in the country between 10 and 20 years. She believed they had different interests than some of the more recent newcomers:

> Socioeconomically, our students are maybe different than other CDEP sites. For example, everybody has a job in the factories and they have benefits and are homeowners. Some students bring issues like, "Should I evict one of my renters in my rental unit?" So they're not poor.

She noted that many of her participants were more active in issues around neighborhood crime than advocacy around welfare reform.

Gender

In a Springfield class, I observed a Bosnian-born facilitator coordinating responsibility sharing for a trip to Plimoth Plantation.[11] The class had decided on this activity as their participation component. An elderly Russian woman said that she could not assist in the planning. She stated that the arranging of a van or a bus was "a man's job." In the same discussion on organizing a final class party, another woman in the class said the women would buy and cook the food. The facilitator posed the question to the class , "Does it have to be only women that can buy and cook food?"; all agreed "no" and a brief discussion on the responsibilities sharing in their households took place. But in the end, a committee of women formed to buy and cook the food.

Generational Differences

The cultural mores around age are considerations in the citizenship class. Sometimes, more than one family member would be in a CDEP class. One class in Springfield had a program design that included resource-room style tutoring in English for some LEP students during part of the class period. One Vietnamese family had an elderly father and an adult son in the class. I began tutoring the father and later felt that the son could also use some extra English practice. When I invited the son to join his father in the resource room area, he politely declined. After class when I again approached him to suggest extra English tutoring he told me that he could not receive

that assistance because his father was being tutored. Being selected for extra attention was seen as a special privilege. The son could not receive such treatment since his father was receiving it.

Gold (1992) identified generational differences in political and social activism in the Vietnamese refugee communities in the United States. Older generation activists, involved in South Vietnamese government or military, retain identification with Vietnam and seek the eventual overthrow of communists. In addition to anti-Communist governmental activities, they also seek to help Vietnamese in camps overseas. Younger activists are said to identify more with the United States and political participation and social activism in American politics. The younger generation has also mistrusted the older military elite and their call for "traditional Vietnamese culture" as rationale for their leadership and personal status in the Vietnamese refugee communities. Whereas the older generation bases its authority on seniority and homeland achievements, the younger generation bases its authority on accomplishments in the U.S. (Hein, 1995). Community organizations and activities are often fractured by this conflict.

Intracommunity Heterogeneity and Conflict

Sharing a country of origin does not provide an unqualified rationale for solidarity. Just as new immigrant and refugee groups differ from each other, they also differ in their own communities in age, gender, religion, language, kinship, and conditions of migration and settlement. In 19th century America, Germans identified themselves as Bavarians or Prussians or other districts of birth. In the early 20th century, Italian immigrants arriving in the United States did not identify themselves as "Italians," but rather the region or village of Italy they came from. Portes and Rumbaut (1990) wrote, "Nationality to these immigrants came with their exposure to American society" (also see Greely, 1971). Recent sociological studies in ethnicity have proposed that ethnicity in newcomer groups is not a cultural birthright but rather a

variable in a socially constructed process.[12] Therefore one can not assume a common bond based on ethnicity alone.

With one contemporary newcomer group, the Vietnamese, intraethnic conflict has increased after migration to the United States. Rutledge (1992) wrote:

> Intraethnic competition and conflict among various groups of Vietnamese, within the United States has occurred at a faster rate and at a deeper level than interethnic conflict. Founded on regional differences based on life in Vietnam, socioeconomic discrimination, and religious biases, intraethnic disharmony is increasing even as interethnic misunderstandings are decreasing. (p. 109)

Institutions in ethnic communities can be sources of stability or sources of conflict in newcomer communities. Abhay et al. (1991) and Hein (1995) noted that the centrality of ethnic organizations in the community often makes them the focus of community conflict. Leadership and mission struggles often result in rival organizations developing within a community. Even the reconstructing of religious institutions can also cultivate community conflict. Just as it is common to have rival ethnic social service or cultural organizations, there are sometimes rival Buddhist temples or churches. In one Massachusetts community where there were approximately 5,000 Vietnamese, there were 5 or 6 Vietnamese organizations, differing in size, funding sources, missions, and constituencies. Community activities, such as celebrations for Tet, the Vietnamese New Year, were offered concurrently and independently at the different organizations. Regardless of need, some community members would not utilize the services of certain organizations of whose board of directors they did not approve.

Heterogeneity was also apparent in the Haitian newcomer communities. All Haitians share a strong pride in being part of the first black nation to win independence in 1804. However there are large education, economic, and expectation gaps between arrivals from the three different waves. There are also differences in views of American citizenship:

> Members of the third wave from Haiti, boat people and other refugees who fled pell-mell from the military coup that toppled Aristide, of necessity are less concerned about flags, dreams, and melting pots than are their countrymen who've been here longer. They fear that, no matter how hard they work, they will not be allowed to stay, because of both the hardening attitudes among Americans towards immigrants generally and the official U.S. position that there is no reason for them to seek political asylum now that the military has been forced from power. (Radin, 1996; p. 18)

Community Membership Boundaries

In Boston, the American-born facilitator told the following story:

> A couple weeks ago I was meeting with some students from a former class. I was helping them with applications. One student was asking about other students, "How is so- and-so doing?" and later "How is the Russian woman doing?" I said "Who?" She said, "The Russian woman." I said they were all Russian except one Vietnamese woman. The student replied, "No, everyone was Jewish. It was the one that wasn't Jewish."

She continued:

> The Russian culture is very different. Russians don't participate with other people unless they really know them well. Because they learned in Russia that you can't trust anyone else. They don't help each other. It's a big issue here (social service agency). We try to get them to network. We provide for refugee clients a job support center where volunteers meet with newcomers. In the networking program in the past I've had many Russian clients who are making it on their own and I have referred newcomers to talk to them. The newcomers return to me and say "They wouldn't help me." We (the agency) felt that in some ways the reaction was twofold - "Why should I help you? I don't know you." and also, "If I help you, you are competition to me. My job is in jeopardy."

A Chinese-born CDEP director in Chinatown spoke of culturally defined membership barriers to community-based collective participation. "Chinese are taught to turn away if it doesn't affect you. Most Chinese adults have this attitude." She added, "Culturally, families take care of their own."

Many newcomers believed that once you became a U.S. citizen, you had turned your back on your homeland and rejected your cultural identity. The Cambodian-born facilitator in Lowell offered:

> Some people misunderstood about becoming an American citizen. They feel like if we become American citizen then we will be unpatriotic to Cambodia. I give up my Cambodian heritage, or whatever, but that's not true. At least not for me and to a lot of people. They may feel part of

> their "Cambodianness" will disappear. I always use my own example. I have been a citizen for 8 years now and I love Cambodia even more. I love our customs and our culture. I love our country and the people there. Becoming an American citizen has helped me to process things better and help myself grow and help the Cambodian American community because there's a mainstream American society that you need to be part of if you want to be successful. I find that the more you know about the American system, the more you can identify who you are because you are part of America. America is a composite of people from all over the world, multiethnic and multicultural, so a lot of people are proud. Italians are proud to be Italian, whatever, Chinese, Cambodian. But they are also American and neither identity will ever go away. Being able to have more is always better than having one. You can understand more cultures, and it's great when you're able to have American and Cambodian culture.

Exam Preparation Agenda

The American-born director of the CDEP program in Fields Corner stated, "You're not going to be credible if you distract people from their task, which is getting citizenship, which means passing the test." For those newcomers going through the naturalization process for the primary reason of retaining federal benefits to survive, they are too panicked about where the rent will come from to worry about advocating for the future. Directors and facilitators shared experiences of people coming to their offices and classrooms in terror, crying, declaring that they would commit suicide if they didn't pass the INS history exam and interview.

Many of the participants were faced with undertaking an academic experience of memorizing facts and figures that they had not had in many years. Some, particularly elderly women, might not have ever been in an academic setting or required to undertake such reading and writing requirements. In Boston, the American-born director noted that many people are afraid of the civics and history knowledge requirement. Many participants noted that they were not accustomed to taking tests, or had not taken a test in many years.

For LEP participants, the time frame of the class was often insufficient to master the language and content needed for the exam and interview. Some students resented dedication of class time for non-exam based activities. The short time frame of the

classes also hindered trust-building on which collective dialogue, reflection, and action depend.

Busy Lives of Stakeholders

The Jamaican-born director in Dorchester noted that many of her Haitian participants worked multiple menial jobs at minimum wages to fulfill obligations to send money to family back in their native country. Haiti's unemployment level is around 60%. More pressing economic concerns often take precedence over citizen participation activities such as reading the newspaper to stay informed or getting involved at their church. Many CDEP participants in Dorchester came to class off a night shift, usually from housekeeping departments of local hospitals. The director stated:

> A lot of the people here are working two or three jobs. So whenever they have these mass rallies downtown in the middle of the day in the middle of the week, everybody here is at work. How do they expect you to be able to get anyone together? A lot of people can barely stay awake in class, like the lady in class today. They're coming from a second job, 11pm - 7am, so it's very difficult.

Facilitator training and networking was also difficult in programs using volunteers. Some sites had orientation programs on using citizenship curricula and orientations on the population's history and culture at the particular site for incoming volunteers. However, for additional training in changes in naturalization laws and processes and adult education methodology, many directors echoed the feelings of one director, "I can't ask my volunteers to take a day off from their regular jobs to come to a state-wide CDEP meeting. They are already giving more of their time than they committed to originally."

Language Levels and Language Confidence[13]

Sites noted that the population of illiterate and extremely LEP students were generally not well served by their programs. The most common reason cited for participants dropping out of citizenship classes was given as lack of or poor English.

The participants' perception of their own language ability was often of equal importance to their actual level. In Dorchester, the Jamaican-born facilitator reflected:

> A lot of Haitians are usually afraid to speak. Their English is shaky and their spelling and writing is horrible, so they back away. Every cycle many people don't come back because of their English skills and I don't have time to encourage them and give the love that they need. A lot of times that's all they really need is the encouragement and love because Haiti is a stratified society and those on top are surely on top and those on the bottom are on the bottom and there's no middle ground, so they will be intimidated to come talk to me, "Oh, she's educated, I don't know what to say to her." So a lot of times they are intimidated and I try to encourage them, "If your reading is horrible, I don't care, I'll correct it." The most important thing is to try so I try to nurture and encourage even though I can't offer the most holistic program. I do my best building self-esteem and building skills and do whatever I can. It's not just citizenship education, it's life education.

Unresolved Family and Social Service Issues

Unresolved family and social service issues beyond native language literacy and English language ability included parenting issues, family crisis, drop-out or gang-membership issues, substance abuse, mental health issues, and physical health issues. Gender and generational role reversal or displacement were often being worked through in newcomer families.

In my own citizenship class, one participant dropped out of class after four sessions. Attempts to call her failed. Later in the term, she visited the class and explained to me that she was in the process of getting separated from her husband. She and her child were living at a friend's home, and so she had not received my calls. In a Fall River class composed of only males, I asked one Cambodian man if his wife was going to go through the naturalization process as well. He replied that she was "not good" as he pointed at his head. He proceeded to tell a story of her trauma at the hands of Khmer Rouge soldiers. He said he was becoming a citizen so he could continue to receive SSI for his wife, who "can't do anything now."

Discussion

This chapter examined some opportunities and challenges to newcomer citizen participation. Developers of citizenship education programs that promote active

citizenship need to be aware of these issues. A primary finding that emerged from the data was the importance of exploring the purpose and benefits of citizen participation as a prerequisite to introducing any citizen participation activities.

When asked how their CDEP programs addressed the opportunities and challenges to promoting citizen participation in their classrooms and curricula, a number of directors and facilitators stressed the importance of discussing the purpose and benefits of participation. When the mandate for citizen participation had been addressed with facilitators asking students to sign pre-printed postcards to legislators, responses from students had included "Why do you want me to do this?" (Chinatown). This could be considered what Arnstein (1969) termed having "participated in participation" (p. 219). A Cambodian-born facilitator in Lowell stated:

> It's understandable, not just for elderly, but all Cambodians to be distant from the process after their experience in Cambodia. But I have to stress the purpose of participation because many feel they can not make a difference. I stress how knowledge of the system and participating in the democratic process can help their children by knowing the laws and their rights as a citizen. I'm not trying to convince them to be 100% but at least 50 to 51% active in applying the rights of citizenship to their daily lives. But like I said it's really difficult for immigrants or refugees who come from countries with non-democratic backgrounds.

Textbooks used in adult education citizenship and ESOL classrooms do not always explain the participation "means" to democratic "ends." Weisburd (1994) identified inference gaps between examples of political change and civic action in adult ESOL texts. She wrote:

> Examining the phrasing of sentences or paragraphs that indicated some political change occurred, I discovered that in almost all cases, the form of expression was similar: a sentence stating a group's wants or a state of being was followed by a statement of a change that took place, leaving a gap that omitted the action or public component. Linking terms of "wants" to changes in the law, for example, implied that the changes came about because of wanting, not acting. The gap is left for the reader to fill from his or her own background knowledge, knowledge highly variable among ESOL learners. (pp. 218-219)

Weisburd noted that solutions were implied that were not rooted in social conflict and civic action, but rather were matters of time. I noted this pattern in a popular citizenship

education textbook used in some CDEP programs. The HIAS Guide to United States Citizenship (1995) stated:

> Women and minorities have continued to make strides towards equality in our society. In 1981, President Ronald Reagan appointed Sandra Day O'Connor as the first female Supreme Court Justice. In 1988, Congress overrode President Reagan's veto in order to pass a new Civil Rights Bill. (p. 56)

Presenting a social problem in abstraction as opposed to rooting it in sociohistorical context prevents critical analysis and action. Likewise, presenting civic actions without connecting them to an issue and the participants' lives and exploring the action's acceptance as a socially and legally sanctioned medium of change, will create resistance (Weisburd, 1994). Directors, facilitators, and participants alike stressed that participants need to identify issues that affect them, and educate themselves on the issue with the tools they find they need. For political or social advocacy, the purpose and process as well as the consequence of various activities needed to be clarified.

In the next and final chapter I will offer an argument that a citizenship education based in participatory democracy ideology and critical pedagogy will promote higher levels of effective citizen participation by newcomers in multiple spheres in their new society. Lessons from the CDEP project and suggestions for empowerment-based citizenship education program design will be offered.

Notes

[1] Miller (1989) identified that language disputes are common political issues in newcomer communities throughout western democracies in the period of postwar migrations.

[2] Miller (1995) warned that associations and institutions might lean their training of volunteers towards the needs and skills needed by the particular agency. He also mentioned a common overemphasis on agency loyalty and effectiveness. The outcome can be the development of followers rather than leaders.

[3] There is a lack of information and misinformation also about the naturalization process. In some communities it is commonly believed that the citizenship interview and exam are so difficult that one must have an advanced level of education and English language skills. Many are unaware of eligibility requirements and the steps in the naturalization process. There is also misinformation about relinquishing native country citizenship and the benefits and drawbacks of becoming a citizen.

[4] Portes and Bach (1985) found high levels of loyalty to the U.S. among Mexicans and Cubans. However, they consider these newcomers to be expressing a "realistic assessment of their condition" (p. 297) rather than patriotism.

[5] The issue of migrant workers needs to be considered. Many migrant workers enter the U.S. for temporary periods of employment, returning to their native countries at the end of specific (for example agricultural or construction) seasons. However, some immigrants who have entered the U.S. with the intent of making it their home are forced to be geographically mobile in search of employment. This population has special needs and patterns of participation that are beyond the scope of this research to address. In regards to political participation, Harles (1993) suggested that such migratory patterns inhibit the development of attachment to local communities that fosters desire to participate in politics.

[6] The Immigration Act of 1965 defined a series of immigration preferences for professionals; lower-class immigrants arriving through family reunification; and those considered as persecuted under the current definition of refugee. See Reimers (1985).

[7] While it would be a reasonable assumption that prejudice against Indochinese would be a result of the Vietnam War, studies including Star and Roberts (1981, 1982) and Ruefle, Ross, and Mandell (1992) have found that general ethnocentrism and racism rather than attitudes towards the Vietnam war were more accurate indicators for negative attitudes towards Indochinese.

[8] Hein (1995) reviewed research done on African American attacks on Indochinese refugees in Philadelphia. He identified root causes as rising unemployment, perceptions of government favoritism, and the changing ethnic composition of the African-American neighborhoods. The studies illustrated that the stability of black neighborhoods is one factor determining the level of conflict between African Americans and newcomers.

[9] Hing (1997) compared the rhetoric of restrictionists on the fiscal impact of immigrants versus results of recent studies and research on the actual economic impact of newcomers.

[10] There is also tension between co-ethnic older and more recent newcomers with earlier arrivals disapproving of the public benefits usage of contemporary arrivals. While the older immigrants' arguments often cite the self-sufficiency of their generation, the evolution of the government's social service provision system is not taken into consideration.

[11] Plimoth Plantation is an outdoor museum re-creating village life of Plymouth in 1627. Also nearby is Plymouth Rock, the Pilgrims' 1620 landing place. A number of CDEP classes included in their curriculum visits to Boston and other Massachusetts historical sites such as the Freedom Trail.

[12] For discussion on ethnicity as a socially constructed process, see Eliezer (1982), Espiritu (1989, 1992), Skinner and Hendricks (1979), Steinberg (1989), Vecoli (1983), and Yancey, Eriksen, and Juliani (1976).

[13] Obviously a portion of immigrants including those from some African, West Indian and European countries, and Canada are English proficient. English may be their first language. Those immigrants who arrive under employment-related visas are usually proficient in English.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

educational work during social movement periods provides the best opportunity for multiplying democratic leadership.
(Horton, 1990, p. 127)

We become full citizens by doing, not simply by decrying the inequities and barriers to participation.
(Lappé & DuBois, 1994, p. 299)

Some Lessons from the CDEP Project

In the CDEP project, active citizens were seen to participate in multiple, interconnected communities such as family, school, work, religious organization, neighborhood, ethnic or community organizations, state, and nation. The citizenship education classroom was used as a space to promote skills development and activities that assisted newcomers to participate in their communities. Participants, facilitators, and directors in CDEP programs were found to be collectively creating meaningful definitions of citizen participation. This included a return to the original view of civil society in American democracy as "dealing less with politics than with sustaining family, neighborhood, and other local relationships" (Miller, 1995, p. 44).

There had been much good work, but strong obstacles caused some falling short in the CDEP mission expressed in the ORI Request for Proposal, "... emphasizing the benefits and importance of continuous and active citizen participation in community or civic activities" (p. 9-10). I would also question the wording of the goal, "... to educate them about the importance of active citizenship *once citizenship status has been achieved* " (Office for Refugees and Immigrants, 1994, p. 2) [italics mine]. While newcomers cannot vote for officials to represent them in formal politics, newcomers can be active contributing members of their multiple communities with or without

citizenship status. Chapter 5 investigated CDEP stakeholders' definitions, enabling skills, and contexts of citizen participation. In Chapter 6, CDEP participants, facilitators, and directors identified a number of internal and external opportunities and challenges to citizen participation inside and outside of the citizenship education classroom. This chapter reflects on concepts of citizenship, the newcomer adaptation process, and critical civic literacy. Some lessons learned from the CDEP project are shared and suggestions for program development are offered. Directions for future research are offered.

Citizenship, Membership and the Newcomer Adaptation Process

One theme of this research is that history repeats itself. Every new wave of immigration has fostered hysteria and restrictionist politics on the part of some longer-established residents. Newcomers throughout U.S. history have varied in migration context, yet all have shared the experience of negotiating an adaptation process in their new surroundings; balancing tensions between integration and pluralism. All newcomers have also experienced the discontinuity between the images they had of the United States prior to arrival and the reality they faced after migration. To the extent that newcomers are lumped into pre-existing subordinated citizenship categories, the U.S. fails to offer a uniquely democratic vision and experience to those it receives.

Movements of various social and ethnic groups create a collective identity by redefining members' views of themselves and views of the government and the ideologies that have created these identities. This is the process of "rearticulation" (Omi & Winant, 1994). Hein (1995) posited that migrants experience collective rather than individual adaptation using collective strategies and goals. Lowe (1991), Olzak (1985) and Yancey, Ericksen, and Juliani (1976) discussed the creation of identity in newcomers as emerging out of social interaction and dialogue with the self and others. The "ethnic culture" that emerges in the U.S. is partially inherited and partially invented. Social interaction is necessary for identity formation and understanding one's

role and place in the new society. Are they welcomed as desirable members of the society? Are their skills, experiences and beliefs considered of value? Within the context of the strong nativist movement in the United States, the answer to these questions is often "no." Caren (1989) wrote:

> Naturalization and citizenship laws are important as a symbol of the stance of a country towards the aliens in its midst. Does it embrace them, seeing them as members and potential citizens, acknowledging their claims on the community and encouraging their commitment to it? Or does it treat them as a burden to be endured, grudgingly conceding each additional right and recognition? (p. 48)

Because Asians and Latinos dominate post-1965 immigration, the issue of race must be kept in the foreground. New immigrants of color are faced with racial discrimination and are excluded on multiple levels. Upon arrival they quickly become minorities whose future is shaped by race relations and ideology. Immigrants and minorities are scapegoated by political leaders and are used as "negative political capital" (Hoskin, 1991, p. 200). In 1997, Congress simultaneously poured money into tightening the border with Mexico and discussed exempting Canadians from a provision of the Immigration Reform Law for tracking every entry and exit of foreigners into the U.S. The 1992 Republican Presidential candidate, David Duke, promised that if elected, he would see that there would not "be any Haitians setting foot on American soil"(as cited in Hing, 1997, p. 148). What is the message to Mexicans, Haitians, and other immigrants of color contemplating or undertaking naturalization?

In the U.S., newcomers, like native-born Americans, have a certain racial identity imposed upon them. What does it mean to be a new American in an increasingly diverse, yet race-based society? Hing (1997) wrote:

> The current cycle of nativism comes at a time when immigration is dominated by Asians and Latinos. As a result, the discussion of who is and who is not an American, who can and cannot become American, goes beyond the technicalities of citizenship and residency requirements; it strikes at the very heart of our nation's long and troubled legacy of race relations. Underlying the debate over immigrants and American identity is a concern about the interaction, or lack of interaction, among different racial groups. (p. 3)

Newcomers can be naively confident and deeply cynical about citizenship and options for participation in public life. At the turn of the century, Jane Addams argued that citizenship classes could not overcome the reality of lack of civil rights for newcomers with democratic oratory. In 1908 Addams pointed out that the Russian Jewish community in Chicago discerned little difference between Czarist secret police and the Chicago police. This was in response to an incident in which Chicago police raided Jewish homes and organizations after arresting a recent Russian Jewish immigrant on the charges of an assassination plot against the city police chief (as cited in Carlson, 1987). The 1997 police torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima brought similar comparisons of New York police and the Tonton Macoute in Haiti by contemporary newcomers.

The racially based political mobilization of the 1960s instigated equity-based reform and opened up the political process to racial minority group members. The 1970s and 1980s witnessed emerging neoconservative political demagoguery, fueling a backlash of European-descended Americans' resentments in a context of domestic economic challenges. Racial minorities, including refugees and immigrants, were alleged to have received special treatment and benefits. The far right, new right, neo-conservatives, and neo-liberals have attempted, with varying degrees of subtlety, to "rearticulate" or redefine racial ideology. Both neo-conservatives and neo-liberals trump the fairness of a color-blind society (universalism) over racial group organization and resource allotment. In the 1990s, liberal social welfare policies created in the 1960s are scapegoated as the cause of a supposed lack of personal responsibility and a fostered dependency on public assistance in communities of color. The "fix the victim" mentality strengthens the existing hegemony and the accompanying non-critical consent of society rather than working toward institutional equality.

Research participants did not explicitly identify the negative attitudes and repercussions against minority-based interest group activism by "mainstream society"

as a deterrent to certain forms of citizen participation. However, I suggest this is a factor within the "cult of gratitude" that I would term "cult of fear."

The United States defines nationality in terms of acceptance of the democratic creed that includes individualism, egalitarianism, participatory democracy, and freedom. In the U.S., newcomers can formally become full members of the national community regardless of birthright. In this research I did find many instances of strong expressions of patriotism. In the citizenship classes I facilitated, I heard a lot of talk about the freedom and rights that America offers. However, as trusting relationships developed in my own classroom, I also heard a lot of anger. Some were bitter at the treatment they had received from some Americans. Frustration was also expressed at how they were portrayed in the media.

In visiting other citizenship education classrooms across the state, I encountered newcomers who had been victims of racially-motivated hate crimes. The realities of physical attacks, distorted images and scapegoating in the media, and glass ceilings in the workplace all clash with the promises of liberty, justice and equality.

Critical Civic Literacy

Access to economic and social equality and power requires an understanding of the political and social systems and how they function. Freire considered literacy an emancipatory political project. A critical civic literacy places citizenship within historical power relations and meaning making within particular ideological discourses. A critical civic literacy, based on Freire and Macedo's (1987) definition of literacy as "reading the world and the word," allows newcomers to analyze their homeland culture as well as the social order of their new countries. Critical consciousness developed through dialogue around the collective experiences of the participants allows us to see ourselves as the citizens we want to be.

Newcomers are often in the process of learning English in addition to "civics" while undertaking naturalization process. Taylor (1989) asserted that one's identity as a

member of multiple community is mediated through language. Consider the following examples: an anti-immigrant group in South California calls themselves "Citizens Together"; an organization called FAIR (Federation for American Immigration Reform) is a lobbyist for the neo-nativist platform. Compare the language used in discussing anti-immigrant sentiment and racial politics. Omi and Winant (1994) offered the term "social meanness" (p. 113), while Senator Alan K. Simpson employed the term "compassion fatigue" (as cited in Zucker & Zucker, 1987, p. 86). In my experience as a citizenship facilitator, I have been asked by newcomers about the etymological roots of the term "alien" for certain types of newcomers. I have also been asked why the citizenship process is called "naturalization" (to become "natural"?). These illustrations stress the need for considering the social construction of language and dissecting the language used in variations of democratic ideology and anti-immigrant rhetoric. A language that enables dialogue, decision-making and action is necessary. Boyte and Lappé (1990) suggested the language used in civic dialogue needs to be identified and cultivated.

Changes in legislation such as immigration and welfare reform have led some newcomers to seek naturalization as a means of retaining government benefits or family reunification immigration preferences. Citizens must not just be consumers of benefits, but must also have the initiative and skills to be active participants and commit to the nation and its democratic system. Critical civic literacy can create knowledge rather than merely forcing the participants to digest the INS version of history required of the U.S. naturalization process. The participants can learn that they need to answer "An amendment" to the question "What do we call a change to the Constitution?"[1] But they can also develop skills to analyze the sociohistorical roots behind recent proposed legislation which would deny citizenship to U.S.-born babies of undocumented immigrants or establish English as the "official" language of the United States.

This is not forcing ideologically correct subject matter upon citizenship class participants. It neither assumes nor campaigns for newcomers to adopt "left," "liberal," or "radical" platforms. Rather it expands the definition of the government or "state" in discussions of the structure of the U.S. government. For example, Fagerlind and Saha (1983) have defined the "state" thus:

> The State is more than the patterns of political behavior and the recruitment and training of elites in society. The State refers to the power of government, and the characteristics which pertain to the exercise of that power in affecting the other social institutions of society, including the economic, social and political. (pp. viii-ix)

Omi and Winant (1994) refer to "state" as the institutions, their policies, the conditions and rules used to support and justify them, and the overt and covert social relations in which they are embedded. The challenge is facilitating dialogue and developing skills to deconstruct how the state affects daily life and how the dominant culture controls the government.

In deconstructing anti-immigrant initiatives, it is necessary to acknowledge a spectrum of ideology and rationale. Hing (1997) astutely counseled:

> Those who support measures for more rigorous border enforcement, measures such as Proposition 187 directed at undocumented migrants, efforts to cut legal immigrants off public benefits, stricter standards for refugee and asylum admissions, and reductions in the number of legal immigrants are a diverse group. Their proposals do not reflect a consistent or monolithic philosophy. Some are directed at undocumenteds, while others are aimed at legal immigrants. Certain individuals are motivated by economic concerns related to jobs, wages, and burdens on public coffers. This may well be the expression of a working class and middle class that is comfortable, but has little indication that its members are getting ahead. These anxieties are rooted in social interests related to assimilation, language, or the perception of societal changes over which they sense a lack of control. Still others are troubled by environmental or population concerns. Many who are focused on the undocumented are upset by the integrity of the border - the immigration laws have been broken, so something must be done. Some are simply racists. (p. 187)

Education for citizenship involves grappling with one's identity and role, and one's rights and responsibilities as a member of multiple communities. The citizenship education class can help participants in problematizing their experiences in their new

society. One of the first steps is reflection on political socialization, values and beliefs, and experiences and historical events that have shaped concepts of civic participation in their native countries and in the U.S. Civic roles can be examined as to how they are assigned. Citizenship class participants can explore who sets the status quo and why.

A number of CDEP sites based their citizenship programs' pedagogical models within participatory democracy ideology. Participatory democracy is suggested to supplement rather than replace representative democracy. In education, this ideology is expressed in co-participation of participants and facilitators in agenda setting, planning, and evaluating the educational program. A number of sites identified that they used a "participatory approach," defined by facilitators as using classroom activities that encouraged dialogue, identified and analyzed issues in groups, sought information, and took action collectively. The building of a community in a classroom is in itself an action and practice of a democratic skill that can be used in the future. Within the tenets of participatory democracy, this collective praxis is itself a form of citizen participation.

Citizenship education often serves newcomers at the lower end of the socioeconomic and educational ladder. These participants face strong barriers to their full participation in their new society. Citizenship education can contribute to the development of rationale, motivation, and skills for citizen participation for this population by (a) providing opportunity for newcomers to investigate and connect historical and contemporary events; (b) facilitating the acquisition of critical tools including literacy, English, and information collecting and sharing skills; (c) providing support for the development of greater self-esteem; and (d) offering opportunities to interact and act collectively within their local and greater communities. Ichilov (1990) wrote, "I regard the ability of individuals to choose among patterns of citizenship as a manifestation of democratic pluralism, which is an essential guarantee of freedom"

(p. 22). Citizenship education programs can make constructive use of participants' backgrounds as they begin the process of social, collective construction of the meaning of participatory citizenship for themselves.

What I am suggesting is a citizenship education that is based on the critical praxis and social activism embedded in emancipatory education pedagogy which has been adapted to educational contexts all over the world.[2] Freire advocated the use of adult education as an instrument for changing the ways adults think about their place in society and their socio-political conditions. Emancipatory pedagogy often uses participatory research methodology. Park (1993) suggested that the goal of participatory research is for people to become more aware, critical, assertive, creative, and active. He wrote, "Participatory research aims to empower people, not only in the sense of being psychologically capacitated but also in the sense of being in-power politically to effect needed social change" (p. 2). Identifying and understanding sociopolitical issues and the functions of government is combined with the application of that knowledge. Miller (1995) advocated the use of participatory action research to identify motives prompting public action.

A critical pedagogy helps to identify and analyze the discontinuity between our visions of a democratic society and the reality. In the case of adult newcomers, the scope and purpose as well as challenges and opportunities to citizen participation existing in the context of the new society also must be problematized. This form of empowerment-based education is appropriate with newcomers who face challenges to their full participation in society.

The kind of citizenship education being discussed here supports Barber's (1984) theory of strong democracy and his expansion of the meaning of democratic, politically active citizens as those who "pursue vigorous neighborhood lives" (p. xiii). For communitarians like Barber, community is both the means and end of civic education

(Boyte, 1992). Boyte wrote that in such pedagogical theory, "civic education proceeds through ever-expanding communal identifications " (p. 5).

Barber's categories of the strong democracy process are strong democratic talk (deliberation, agenda-setting, listening, empathy); strong democratic decision-making (public decisions, political judgment, common policy making); and strong democratic action (common work, community action, citizen service). Barber's phases and Freire's emancipatory methodology both embody deliberation, decision, and action with the goal of personal and social transformation. Similarly, Lappé and DuBois (1992, 1994) have defined the "Arts of Democracy" as active listening, creative conflict, mediation, negotiation, political imagination, public dialogue, public judgment, celebration and appreciation, evaluation and reflection, and mentoring.

American adult civic education does have a history of what Boyte (1992) called "public problem solving" with the goals of developing "a sense of their stake in the nation, their capacity to act as citizens, and their self-identification as 'citizens'" (p. 5). Social Reconstructionists championed an education fostering critical thinking and grassroots social transformation. Settlement Houses for immigrants and citizenship schools for African Americans, neighborhood schools, unions, and workers organizations operated as political mediating institutions connecting people's everyday lives to the larger public world. I agree with Miller (1995) that a renaissance in critical civic emphasis in education is needed. It would bring an emancipatory agenda back to citizenship education.

A critical citizenship education has the aim of helping newcomers develop the ability to look at their native and new society from several points of view, to analyze motives and power structures, separate fact from myth and opinion, and facilitate the building of active, ethical communities. The freedom that newcomers value so dearly can be extended to include participation in power. The term "power" is used here as

Boyte and Lappé (1990) understood it, to mean the set of relationships between individuals and their self-interests and other people and their self-interests.

Lappé and DuBois (1994) used the term "relational power" to explain the concept of a power that is a capacity to effect change. They believed these capacities can only be developed with others. This is diametrically opposed to the traditional view of power as a zero-sum concept. Lappé and DuBois (1994) wrote, "Power, in this view, expands for many people simultaneously. And as one person's power grows, it often enhances the power of others. Thus power can be both enabling and creative" (p. 49). Therefore, building relationships becomes a source of power.

This is indeed a grand goal. The citizenship class meeting once or twice a week for 3 months can only instigate the beginning of such transformations. But it can begin to facilitate the interaction and dialogue within and between communities that is necessary for newcomers and native-born Americans to move from narrow self-interest to empowered collective interest in the public domain. From that base, as Barber (1984) imagined:

> Community grows out of participation and at the same time makes participation possible; civic activity educates individuals how to think publicly as citizens even as citizenship informs civic activity with the rewired sense of publicness and justice. Politics becomes its own university, citizenship its own training ground, and participation its own tutor. Freedom is what comes out of this process, not what goes into it. (p. 152)

Suggestions for Program Development

Based on lessons learned from the CDEP project, I would like to identify some ways in which citizenship education programs can promote citizen participation - or assuming the rights and responsibilities of democratic community membership.

Educating for Democracy and Democratic Education

To Dewey and Freire, the role of education is to empower citizens with the tools, experiences, and examples of liberation for a true democratic society. The concepts of democracy and freedom must be inherent in the organizational climate,

process, and outcome of educational initiatives. A democratic model of education develops participants' sense of ownership and joint decision-making ability.

Freire examined the political nature of education. Education is not neutral, but rather shaped by the power holders in society. Schooling can serve to maintain the status quo through domesticating style of education or it can provide an arena for the liberation of the people. In the former situation, which Freire calls the "banking concept of education," the teacher "issues communiqués and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat" (1970, p. 58). In the latter situation, all members of society, including program directors, facilitators, participants, and the community are learners and teachers creating their own reality "re-creating the world" through dialogue.

The goal of establishing a climate of democracy and shared leadership is indeed a challenge. In schools for children, the very hierarchical structure of schools and the age differences between the students and the administrators, teachers, and support staff facilitate development of bureaucratic and authoritarian systems. For citizenship education for newcomers, there are different challenges. Participants may be limited in language ability and lack knowledge about American society or democratic order. The predetermined content of the formal and bureaucratic process of naturalization that is the main content of citizenship education programs also challenges opportunities for classrooms wishing to use a participatory leadership model.

In the CDEP project, sites used student advisory councils and peer mentoring/tutoring. Problem-posing and participatory research methods were used to identify and act on issues in the participants' communities. The philosophy of those programs included the validation of past experiences, alternative knowledge sources and the ongoing process of cross-cultural adaptation.

Ethnic or Community-Based Organizations as Sites for Citizenship Education Programs

The strong democracy advocated by Barber (1984) "requires institutions that will involve individuals at both the neighborhood and the national level in common talk, common decision-making and political judgment, and common action" (p. 261). The arena for this activity in the CDEP project is ethnic and community-based organizations, community schools, and voluntary agencies.

It is popularly believed that ethnic communities and organizations segregate the immigrant from mainstream society. Euro-immigrationists and cultural assimilationists warn that this supposed separatism is destroying American culture. The racism in anti-immigrant rhetoric is couched in "failure to assimilate" arguments. Black (1991) conversely offered the perspective that ethnic organizations act as "bridging agents." They help newcomers learn about their new society and create avenues for cross-cultural dialogue. Black also found that organizational assistance facilitates the acquisition of political knowledge and participation in communal activities.

The connection between toleration and encouragement of opinion in the home, school, and workplace and an active civic life is the backbone of political socialization theory. If the citizenship service provider site is a setting where newcomers' opinions are respected and their participation sought, the newcomers will be encouraged to maintain awareness and activity. The vital role of the ethnic and community-based organizations, community schools, and VOLAGs is to be, in the language of citizen democracy, "free spaces". This involves bringing in newcomers and retaining the connection to new citizens. A responsibility is to continue to provide resources, access channels, and opportunities for collective discourse and action. Their mission must be to nourish multiple communities that make up the greater community through creating linkages within and across newcomer communities. These organizations can mediate the connecting of people's everyday lives to the larger public world.

Intraethnic conflict can affect the development, management, and mission of ethnic or community-based organizations and their constituency. Voluntary agencies might have economic self-sufficiency objectives or quotas that might affect the objectives and content of citizenship programs. An organization that operates within a social service professional-client paradigm can limit leadership development. Boyte and Lappé (1990) warn that some non-profit and voluntary organizations have evolved into functioning in the role of service providers for a generally passive population rather than facilitating opportunities for citizens to define and solve their community problems. Some community-based organizations or projects focus energy on battling issues or causes, possibly limiting evaluation of root causes and power dynamics.

Staffing from the Community

Community needs are best addressed through community resources. Rising anti-immigrant sentiment and corresponding diminishing economic support to newcomers and their communities is but one reason to utilize a community-serving-the-community model in citizenship education. The use of adult nonformal education staff with no previous formal teaching experience from the community of the learners is not a new idea in many parts of the world. In the United States, it is less common. The sharing of linguistic, cultural, political, and historical backgrounds is thought to assist the facilitation of meaningful learning around life experiences within culturally familiar discourse forms. It also allows the modeling of democratic behaviors, roles and attitudes.

In marginalized communities where there are few economic resources, training community members to further the education of fellow community members helps to provide services that might otherwise be unobtainable. Community leadership development is also an outcome. Jobs are created in the community, either directly through a paid staff salary or indirectly through volunteer skills enhancement for future employment. In the United States, there are many refugees and immigrants with strong

educational backgrounds who are unable to use these skills in their new society due to discrimination, limitations in English skills, or lack of formal credentials. In Massachusetts, such models are being utilized in newcomer communities in the areas of literacy (Auerbach, et al., 1996) and community leadership and development (Ahmed, et al., 1995).

Respect and good intentions, as mentioned by some sites, are important qualities for facilitators. However, more pedagogical training in andragogy,[3] including working with illiterate or limited English proficiency participants; and emancipatory theory and methodology were also identified by sites as a need. Many facilitators stated that they lacked sufficient opportunity to reflect with facilitators from other sites.

Incorporating Immigration History

Chaffee and Yang (1990) wrote:

> Education to new political conditions is most likely to take root if it is contrasted clearly with the past. Simply forgetting the past (forced desocialization) is probably a weak approach. Didactic teaching (indoctrination) against the past may not be much better, especially if the person will eventually encounter that system firsthand. A pluralistic approach would be more experimental, giving students the opportunity to consider what actions might be possible under the earlier conditions, as compared to the past. (p. 154)

Community is built on shared history. However, community is also built on truth. An approach to immigration history must share the honorable and shameful aspects of this nation's history. Newcomers need to realize that democracy is not a static entity. Active participation is necessary to continue to develop a democratic society. CDEP participants discovered that the affirmation "all men are created equal" did not always include all members of the society. However, they also examined people's movements and tactics used to challenge and overcome oppression.

Using Reflective Activities

As discussed in Chapter 4, there appeared to be a shift towards more pragmatic motivations for newcomers seeking to naturalize today. In the past, many citizenship

class participants had the time to seek naturalization and attend classes. In the contemporary environment, those who had put off naturalization due to time constraints felt forced to go through the process due to recent welfare and immigration legislation. Some who feel forced to seek naturalization might not have fully reconciled their feelings of loss and loyalty in giving up citizenship in the country of their birth. These issues combined with lower language levels of current participants are thought by some CDEP staff to limit interest in some citizenship participation activities which they tried to facilitate. The facilitators reported that participants were eager to discuss and analyze current events in class. Out-of-class activities such as visiting the State House were greeted with less enthusiasm.

In considering the participants' motivations, and content and time limitations of citizenship education classes, a full participatory approach may not be desired or possible. There is a tendency to judge; if an outcome of an educational initiative is not action for social change, then the educational approach was not "Freirean," and the participants have not empowered themselves. Self-knowledge and esteem development, questioning and decision-making skills, and relationship building can all occur in the classroom. The development of these skills builds capacities and tools for exercising power whether it be during the class cycle, a week after a newcomer becomes naturalized, or 20 years down the road.

Reflective activities in the classroom can be used to initiate the placing of one's historical self in a new sociopolitical system. Thomashow (1992) suggested interactive exercises to map one's political autobiography by tracing the political history and events in one's life. He recommended that the autobiographies be used to identify forms of civic participation that integrate with one's political identity. Boyte (1992) further suggested citizens engage in organizational political mapping. This involves examining public and political environments "from neighborhood organizations to city

bureaucracies" and analyzing them using the language of "power," "politics," and "accountability."

Collaborating Between Institutions

Collaboration and partnerships with organizations that share the mission of community capacity-building can provide enormous opportunities for encouraging citizen participation. No single organization has the resources or capabilities to serve the complex needs of the communities they serve. Another important rationale for partnerships is to bring together diverse viewpoints and experiences. The ethnic or community organization, community school, or VOLAG can be a safe environment to facilitate interaction between and among different communities. Finally, funders are increasingly encouraging or mandating collaboration among service providers to avoid duplication of services and to improve efficiency and quality of services.

Rewarding of Programs

Program challenges reported by CDEP sites included limited institutional resources and sponsor-required quantifiable "outcomes." Many sites reported that the staff worked far beyond paid hours. Limited administrative hours were a particular concern. Many saw ORI as unrealistic in their funding and expectations - "But what can you do when you see faces full of fear?", one director explained as she shared that her participant numbers exceeded contract limits. One director said that ORI required a certain level of English proficiency to take the citizenship classes. She added, "But when new students who don't have enough English show up in your office, you can't turn them away." There was high staff turnover due to the volunteer or low pay nature of the work and limited hours. Also identified as a need was training around pedagogy and methodology for the citizenship education class. This included pedagogy for incorporating citizen participation into the curriculum.

There was frustration in how the programs were evaluated for renewal of funding. According to one director:

> When the program started it was really about citizen participation. The coordinator supports it, but she as well as us are caught. In the overall organization now, there is no support for citizen participation in the CDEP project. It's just numbers [how many people pass the ETS test, pass the naturalization interview, register to vote] that are important. No counting of what we do for citizen participation, it's all meeting numbers. I think it's the federal government, so there's no valuing of citizen participation in the program, absolutely no rewarding of it and I think that plus changes in the citizenship test have contributed to a drop in citizen participation activities.

Personal and social change cannot be reduced to outcomes. However, in the present CDEP project, sites were subject to quantitative quotas in the number of newcomers becoming naturalized and registering to vote; rather than more qualitative measures. As a result some programs progressively shifted curricular emphasis towards citizenship test preparation courses. An exclusively test-preparation agenda can allow the shortening of a class cycle, therefore more "clients" can be served and rushed into the naturalization "pipeline."

An empowerment-based curricula requires a longer class cycle, which, if the program is being judged by naturalization numbers, is an unaffordable luxury. Performance and outcome measures need to incorporate the rewarding of newcomers' acquisition of democratic skills and practice of citizen participation in the community.

Celebrating Successes and Lessons Learned

Celebrating successes includes events in the family, local, national and international community. Some CDEP programs had parties to celebrate the completing of the naturalization process or registering of new voters. However, just as important is celebrating marriages, births, new jobs, and community efforts such as a park clean up, petition to city government, or fundraising for a family struck by tragedy. Appreciation for volunteerism in the CDEP project was shown in a variety of ways from formal recognition ceremonies to private thank-yous.

Lappé and DuBois (1994) suggested that we celebrate not only the victories, but also the learning which has occurred. They noted that not every effort ends in victory, but it results in lessons learned, skills developed, and personal connections made. We

can celebrate the exercise of individual and collective power, citizen participation, in the quest for improving the democratic society. Celebrations strengthen relationships between individuals and communities.

Democracy, Diversity, and Citizen Participation

The United States is unique in that citizenship is not based in common culture, or ethnicity, but rather on an allegiance to a political system and set of principles that all citizens are responsible to uphold, apply, and change as needed. Our greatest strengths lie in both the diversity of our population and a political system that allows and requires constant modification to serve the needs of the people. Democracy is not perfect, but it has often been recognized as the only political system that allows and requires the participation of its citizens to improve itself.

Newcomers can become American citizens by espousing the political system. It is a voluntary contract and requires proactive effort on the part of the newcomer. It also involves a commitment from both the newcomers to the society and the society to the newcomer. Brubaker (1989a) wrote:

> A state that is prepared to accept migrants as long-term residents, as participants in the economic and social life of the country, should not only be prepared to accept them also as citizens, but should actively promote their inclusion as citizens. (p. 100)

This welcome must be reflected not only in immigration and naturalization laws, but also in the citizenship education programs newcomers are offered.

The demographic reality is that the community of the United States is multicultural and multiracial. Demographic trends predict that the U.S. will have a population with a majority composed of people of color by the middle of the 21st century. Before that date, the majority of youth and certain cities will have a majority population composed of African American, Latino, Asian, Middle Eastern, and Native Americans. Feagin (1997) noted that this will be a return to whites being a minority population in America as they were in the 1700s.

The United States is the world's most diverse democracy. There is no denying that society has changed as a result of post-1965 immigration. It is important to examine the responses to the changes that have occurred and the direction we are moving toward the future. Native-born and foreign-born Americans have to create what it means to live in a democratic multiethnic nation. Hing (1997) suggested, "The idea of 'being an American' signifies different things to different people. Recognition of these differences helps develop a respect for other cultures and sets the groundwork for a workable multiracial society" (p. 176). It is the dual responsibility of newcomers and native-born Americans to actively reexamine and redefine American values through participation in Barber's "political talk." Included in this discussion can be the scope of citizenship itself. Boyte and Lappé (1990) expanded the meaning of diversity within the concept of citizen democracy:

> Diversity means recognizing and respecting different ways of knowing - storytelling and the power of the oral tradition within many cultures, for instance -- and it means developing experiences of shared power, rather than hoarded power or one-way power. (p. 420)

Hing (1997) argued that immigrants both acculturate and influence American culture. Therefore:

> The definition of what an American is must be expanded. The concept must be one of addition rather than omission. It must embrace differences rather than attack them. It must respect diversity rather than disregard it. It must appeal to a sense of unity that incorporates multiculturalism rather than the illusion of Eurocentric unity, which often serves as a pretext or mask for ostracizing other cultures. (p. 177)

In his January 20, 1993 Inauguration speech, President Bill Clinton asserted, "Each generation of Americans must define what it means to be an American" (as cited in Hing, 1997, p. 174). Hing continued:

> Thus the new definition of "what it means to be an American," which President Clinton has challenged us to provide, is one of inclusion rather than exclusion. It respects the history, the traditions, the culture, the literature, the values, the language, and the music of Native Americans, African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, and others as those cultural qualities have distinctly evolved within our borders. This modern vision recognizes that the Navajo's respect for the earth and its natural resources is an American value; that the African

> American-led civil rights movement of the 1960s represents a powerful moment in our American history; that the continuing nightmares of torture, death, and heartache endured by Cambodian refugees is a component of the American psyche; that the folklore and labor of Mexican farmworkers is an American experience. It recognizes that the American experience is broad and diverse. In short, it recognizes not only that being an American can mean different things to different people, but also that each experience contributes to the national story and each achievement leads the nation forward. (pp. 177-178)

Harles (1993) suggested that American democracy and political stability is strengthened by the presence of quiescent and uncritical newcomers. I disagree. An empowered democracy depends on empowered, not blindly patriotic citizens. The United States cannot grow without persons who have the desire and abilities to participate in improving their personal and immediate lives as well as the greater community. How to integrate various levels of pluralism with "bien common" is a challenge not just for citizenship classes, but for education in all forms.

Citizenship education for adult newcomers can take a proactive role in helping to create a democratic society of active, participating citizens who have a critical civic literacy. Knowledge of U.S. history, the government system, and the laws is indisputably a necessary civic aptitude. However, for a stronger American democracy, would the U.S. not be better served by measuring or evaluating immigrants' qualifications for citizenship as their skills, understanding, and motivation to participate in the democratic process? The requirements for naturalization might emphasize and give greater attention to the civic participation of the newcomers over "moral character" and the regurgitation of historical names and dates.

Butts (1980), Falk (1994), Janowitz (1983) and others have identified the need to connect global interdependence with new views of citizenship. Newcomers to the U.S. are valuable resources in this respect. Who better to help educate native-born Americans than the members of our community with cross-cultural experiences and knowledge?

Suggestions for Future Research

Cross-comparison studies of civic education for newcomers, especially in other multiethnic democratic societies with large-scale contemporary in-migration such as Israel, Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, Britain, and Australia would provide valuable lessons in successes and failures in educating for active and equal citizenship. This research examined the phenomenon of citizen participation of newcomers within a brief and volatile period in American immigration history. Examining the research questions in the period prior to recent anti-immigrant political projects or in the future would surely yield different results.

The subsequent effects of the curricular focus on citizen participation in the CDEP citizenship classes are not examined in this research. It is a common axiom that citizen participation is only learned and fostered by practicing it. This can not be assumed in the case of newcomers operating in new and often hostile environments. Tracking future articulations of citizen participation in the lives of the new citizens is an additional important longitudinal research need.

Omi and Winant (1994) wrote that race will always be at the center of the American experience. The research approach taken here was to collectively present the beliefs and experiences of a number of diverse newcomer groups. This risks operating under the paradigm Blauner (1972) has called the "immigrant analogy." An assumption that there are no differences in relation to the larger society between racial minority immigrants and European immigrants ignores the unique challenges facing immigrants of color. Research focusing on unique aspects of identity for immigrants of color or comparing the experiences and beliefs between immigrants of color and European immigrants could overcome this shortcoming.

Notes

[1] This question comes from the INS List of 100 questions on U.S. History and Government for the Naturalization Interview (as cited in Becker & Edwards, 1995).

[2] In North American contexts, emancipatory pedagogy has been used in the fields of English as a Second Language (Auerbach & Wallerstein, 1987; Wallerstein, 1983); literacy (Auerbach, et al., 1992, 1996 ; Brown, 1978); job training (Shor, 1988); mathematics (Frankenstein, 1983); teacher training (Shor, 1986); adult education (Vella, 1994, 1995); community development (Comeau, Dolma, & Rocha, 1995; Vella, 1989); women's studies (Schniedewind, 1987); health and other areas.

[3] This term was coined by Malcolm Knowles (1978) to distinguish adult education theory and practice from the pedagogy used in teaching children.

APPENDIX A

FORMAL PERMISSION LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF MASSACHUSETTS OFFICE FOR REFUGEES AND IMMIGRANTS

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January 29, 1997

Mr. Nam V. Pham
Director
Office for Refugees & Immigrants
18 Tremont Street
Boston, Ma 02108

Dear Mr. Pham,

My name is Mary Comeau and I am a doctoral candidate at the Center for International Education at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. For the past two and a half years, I was also a staff member of the CIRCLE project in Western Massachusetts. Currently I am conducting research in newcomer citizenship education programs. My main research question examines how the concept of civic participation is translated into the curricula of different citizenship education programs. I have been discussing with Maureen Burke the possibility of using the Citizenship Democracy and Education Project as my case study. The CDEP initiative is ideal in that it includes a broad range of ethnic and community-based organizations in its sites and is a nationwide model of citizenship education with a strong participation component.

I wanted to write this letter to present myself to you and request permission to conduct research at the fourteen CDEP sites. I have not yet written my dissertation proposal, but I do have a draft outline on my proposed research that is available to you.

In the course of this research, I would be using University-required consent forms with all parties interviewed (Maureen, CDEP site directors, facilitators, and participants). If I receive your approval, please advise me on any specific ORI consent forms that I need to be aware of, or if I should create and include a form to be signed by yourself.

I will follow up this letter with a phone call regarding your permission for access to this ORI project and any protocol I need to follow. Thank you in advance for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Mary T. Comeau-Kronenwetter

CC: Maureen Burke
Carol Chandler

APPENDIX B

FORMAL INTRODUCTION LETTER TO CDEP SITE DIRECTORS

Mary T. Comeau-Kronenwetter
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February 12, 1997

----------, Director
Citizenship and Democracy Education Project

Dear ----------,

The purpose of this letter is to introduce myself and to ask you to please consider the possibility of allowing me to collect research data within your Citizenship Democracy and Education Program. I am presently a doctoral candidate at the Center for International Education in the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts/ Amherst. I have previously worked in newcomer adult education programs such as the Center for Immigrant and Refugee Community Leadership and Empowerment (CIRCLE) Project and the Refugee Education and Employment (REEP) Project.

I am conducting a short-term research project on newcomer adult citizenship education programs. I am examining how the concept of "civic participation" is defined and translated into citizenship education program curricula. I am using the Citizenship Democracy and Education Project (CDEP) as a case study because they fund multiple sites including community-based organizations, ethnic organizations, and social service agencies; serve different populations; and use a variety of program models and curricula.

This is a field research project in which I will visit on-site to interview the CDEP site directors and some citizenship class facilitators and participants and observe a small sample of citizenship classes at participating sites. All individuals and sites involved in the study will remain anonymous. The complete research will be published only as a dissertation and possibly in a professional educational journal.

In the past two months, I have presented my proposal to conduct research in the CDEP project to both Maureen Burke, CDEP Coordinator, and Nam Pham, ORI director. Both have approved and authorized my work. I believe Maureen or an administrative assistant has called your organization to introduce my research project and notify you that I would be contacting you. Each CDEP site is free to grant or deny permission for me to include your site in my study.

I would enjoy discussing this project with you on the telephone. I will contact your office during the week of February 24, 1997, to arrange a phone conversation with you at your convenience. Thank you for your time and consideration in this matter.

Sincerely,

Mary T. Comeau-Kronenwetter

CC: Maureen Burke (ORI)

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

Curricular Translations of Participation within a Massachusetts Newcomer Citizenship Education Program

1. I, Mary T. Comeau-Kronenwetter, am a doctoral candidate at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, Massachusetts, working on a doctorate in education. These interviews will help me to share the voices of directors, facilitators, volunteers and participants of Massachusetts Newcomer Citizenship Education Programs - their successes and challenges in incorporating civic participation into newcomer citizenship education curricula. My goal is to analyze and compose the material from your interview for :

   a. a dissertation;
   b. possible future study on other aspects of newcomer citizenship education;
   c. possible journal articles;
   d. oral presentations about my research;
   e. a curriculum guide sharing examples of how civic participation is promoted in the CDEP classroom.

2. You are being asked to be a participant in this project. I will conduct one or two interviews with you. The interviews will center around the structure of your citizenship program structure and curriculum, including examples of participant civic participation in 1996-1997; the community the program serves; and the program's host organization. Additionally, I will conduct participant observation in citizenship classes, the host organization, and the surrounding neighborhood.

3. The interviews will be tape recorded and later transcribed by me. You will be given copies of both the tapes and transcriptions for your review. You will be free to make corrections as a result of misinterpretations or poor recording quality. You may also review the draft of the dissertation for accuracy when it is completed, if you choose. After analysis and reporting of the research results, I will mail a brief report to you summarizing the findings. After the research is completed, I also hope to present to the CDEP sites a curriculum guide sharing some participation ideas and projects of the various CDEP sites.

4. The CDEP project and funder name (ORI) will be used. However, the names of CDEP sites, staff, volunteers and participants will not be used.

5. While consenting at this time to participate in these interviews, you may at any time withdraw from the actual interview process.

6. Furthermore, while having consented to participate in the interview process and having done so, you may withdraw your consent to have specific excerpts from the interview used in any printed materials or oral presentations if you notify me within four weeks after you have received copies of both the transcript and of the tapes of the interview.

7. In signing this form, you are agreeing to the use of the materials from your interviews as indicated in item 1. If I were to want to use the materials from you interviews in any way not consistent with what is stated in item 1, I would contact you to get your additional written consent.

8. If you have any questions, please contact me as follows:

home:
Mary T. Comeau-Kronenwetter
15 Beach Road
Ware, Massachusetts 01082
413-967-6277

school:
Mary T. Comeau-Kronenwetter
Center for International Education
School of Education - Hills House South
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Ma 01003
413-545-0465

I, _____,
have read the above statement and agree to participate as an interviewee under the conditions
stated above.

_____
Signature of Participant

_____
Date

_____
Signature of Researcher

_____
Date

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
(questions that emerged from themes identified in the pilot study)

Examples of Questions for Citizenship Class Participants

A. Definitions of Community and Community Membership
1. How do you define "community?"
2. What do you do as a member of that community?
3. What are some problems that face your community?
4. What do you do toward working to solve those problems?

B. Cross-cultural Comparison
1. What is the difference between being an American citizen and being a citizen in the country of your birth?
2. What are the rewards or penalties of being an active citizen in the country of your birth/in the U.S.?

C. Specific Skills Necessary for Citizenship Participation
1. What skills do you need to be an active citizen in your community?
2. Do you have those skills?
3. If not, how can you develop those skills?

D. Challenges to Citizen Participation
1. What conditions make it difficult for you to be an active citizen in the U.S.?

E. Opportunities to Citizen Participation
1. What conditions help you be an active citizen in the U.S.?

F. Promotion of Citizen Participation in the Citizenship Education Classroom
1. Are you learning about/practicing being an active citizen in this class? How?

Examples of Questions for CDEP Directors/Facilitators

A. Expectations of Newcomers
1. Have you found differences in expectations between the CDEP project mandate for citizenship participation and the needs/interests of the participants?

B. Definitions of Community and Community Membership
1. How do you define "community?"
2. What do you do as a member of that community?
3. What are some problems that face your community?
4. What do you do toward working to solve those problems?

C. Stakeholder Definitions of Citizenship Participation
1. How do you define citizenship participation?
2. Have you found that your definitions differ from those of the class participants?

D. Specific Skills Necessary for Citizenship Participation
    1. What skills do you believe are necessary for active citizenship?
    2. Do newcomers have those skills?
    3. If not, how can they develop those capacities?

E. Challenges to Citizen Participation
    1. What conditions make it difficult for newcomers to be an active citizen in the U.S.?

F. Opportunities to Citizen Participation
    1. What conditions help newcomers to be active citizens in the U.S.?

G. How is Citizenship Participation Being Promoted in the Citizenship Education Class?
    1. How do you facilitate or promote citizenship participation in the classroom?
    2. What are examples of recent citizenship participation activities?
    3. What are the responses of the participants to these activities?

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